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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXI

426572

Hell and High Water—The Flood of 1937 in Southern Illinois

Richard Lawrence Beyer 5

The French and British at Play in the Old Northwest, 1760-1796

Nelson Vance Russell 22

Illinois State University, 1852-1868

Harry Evjen 54

Illinois in 1937

Mildred Eversole 72

The Record of a Friendship—A Series of Letters from Lincoln to Henry E. Dummer

Paul M. Angle 125

Farming in Illinois a Century Ago as Illustrated in Bond County

Hubert Schmidt 138

Thomas Langrell Harris—A Biography by Stephen A. Douglas and James Shields

Foreword by John M. Palmer 160

The Ladies' Association for Educating Females, 1833-1937

Margaret King Moore 166

Contributions to Chicago History from Peoria County Records. Part One

Ernest E. East 188

Laurence Marcellus Larson, 1868-1938

Theodore C. Pease 245

The Trials of a Ghost-Writer of Lincoln Biography—Chauncey F. Black's Authorship of Lamon's Lincoln

Albert V. House, Jr. 262

Southern Illinois Folk Songs

David S. McIntosh 297

Contributions to Chicago History from Peoria County Records. Part Two

Ernest E. East 323

The Role of Chicago Czechs in the Struggle for Czecho-Slovak Independence

Joseph Jahelka 381

The Stage Career of Buffalo Bill

James Monaghan 411

Governor Altgeld Pardons the Anarchists

Harvey Wish 424

An Illinois State Agent in Washington—The Activities of Harry Dewitt Cook, 1865-1871

Robert D. Ochs 449

Historical Notes 105, 221, 344, 482

The Illinois Scrapbook 97, 213, 351, 486

News and Comment 111, 225, 359, 495

Contributors 118, 237, 372, 509

HELL AND HIGH WATER

The Flood of 1937 in Southern Illinois

BY RICHARD LAWRENCE BEYER

"IT is the Ohio only which has ever given the city of Cairo any trouble of consequence," wrote John M. Lansden twenty-seven years ago. "Even when both rivers are high at one and the same time, little or no notice is taken of the matter unless the Ohio reaches one of its very highest stages. It is the Ohio that claims for itself the right to rise and fall through a perpendicular distance of fifty feet."[1] The observations of the learned southern Illinois judge were sound in so far as he evaluated the devastating qualities of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, respectively, but the floods of 1937 revealed that he had missed the swelling possibilities of the Ohio by nearly ten feet.

The rampage of the Ohio River in late January and early February, 1937, constituted one of the major catastrophies in the history of this state. Results of the tragedy are frightfully plain, and even at the risk of sacrificing some of the mellowness that time and perspective afford the historian, the author believes that the outlines of this disaster should be preserved before records are erased and the memories of victims and relief workers are tinctured with too many dashes of imagination and illusion.

John M. Lansden, *A History of the City of Cairo, Illinois* (Chicago, 1910), 72.

In trying to estimate the materialistic consequences of the disaster, one learns the proportions of the Ohio River flood. Thousands of residents of the state were rendered homeless and property damages estimated at $75,000,000 resulted. In one community of less than two thousand inhabitants, Shawneetown in Gallatin County, the losses are calculated at nearly a half-million dollars. Damage to the state highways has been placed as high as $200,000 and injury to county and township roads is estimated by some to be even greater. The effects of death (from both drowning and disease), sickness, privation, disruption of industry, shattering of home life, and rupture of morale can scarcely be measured in this, southern Illinois' greatest trial.

Floods are not new in Egypt and accounts of them date back into the pre-state history of the region. Their frequent threats to life and property and the refusal of the people to move from areas threatened by inundation amazed and irritated visitors in the Illinois country years ago. For example, in August, 1817, Morris Birkbeck, an English traveler in the Middlewest, was astounded at that which he found at Shawneetown. In his heavy polysyllables, he wrote:

> Shawneetown. This place I account as a phenomenon evincing the pertinacious adhesion of the human animal to the spot where it has once fixed itself. As the lava of Mount Etna cannot dislodge this strange being from the cities which have been repeatedly ravaged by its eruptions, so the Ohio, with its annual overflowings, is unable to wash away the inhabitants of Shawnee Town.—Once a year, for a series of successive springs, it has carried away the fences from their cleared lands, till at length they have surrendered, and ceased to cultivate them. Once a year the inhabitants either make their escape to higher lands, or take refuge in their upper stories until the waters subside, when they recover their position on this desolate sand-bank.[2]

[2] Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, From the Coast of Virginia to the*

Granting the ravages of these nineteenth century floods, it must be indicated again that none ever reached the proportions of the swell of the Ohio in January and February, 1937.

Omens suggesting floods for southern Illinois began to appear by the middle of January. The weather had been mild, but heavy rains had fallen in the entire Ohio Valley. Rivers were rising rapidly, and in many places highways were already covered. Predictions on January 20 were to the effect that within a week the Ohio would reach a fifty-two foot stage at Cairo, but this occasioned no alarm since that figure was almost a foot lower than the crest in the flood of the previous year. "Protected by 60-foot sea walls, neither Cairo nor Shawneetown is in danger," an Associated Press correspondent wrote at this time.[3]

However, by Friday, January 22, it was apparent that southern Illinois was on the verge of disaster. Thirty hours of rain in the upper Ohio Valley, coupled with sleet and a six and a half inch snowfall in Egypt, contributed to the uneasiness of those who watched the river rise. At Shawneetown it had already reached the fifty-five foot mark. Disquieting, too, were the reports of the rampage of the Ohio in the eastern part of the valley. Even this early, the river had climbed to seventy feet at Cincinnati and shattered the sixty-nine and nine-tenths foot mark, which had previously been the all-

Territory of Illinois (Philadelphia, 1818), 129-30. The "pertinacious adhesion" as Birkbeck puts it, apparently still prevails in Shawneetown. About two months after the flood, when the question of moving the town to higher ground was being discussed, a St. Louis paper printed a letter from an irate Shawneetown resident who wrote: "We were harder hit than most cities, yet the real business people want to keep Shawneetown at the present site Shawneetown is the Alpha and Omega to me If I could choose a heaven, it would be Shawneetown."

[3] Associated Press dispatch from Centralia, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 20, 1937, p. 4A.

time "high" for that city. Observers now predicted that the greatest flood on record was imminent. Illinois read of these happenings and of the exodus of 50,000 people from their homes in the river towns in Ohio and Indiana. To battle the impending flood in Illinois, forces of W.P.A. workers, engineers, and boatmen were mobilized. Residents in threatened towns began to pack, while some had already left for higher ground.

With the passing of the hours, the Ohio, a churning yellow fury, continued to rise to new record heights, and danger grew as the river mounted inch by inch. The lower part of Shawneetown was filling with seepage water from the sea wall and levee, and doubts were expressed as to whether the flood could be resisted. Elizabethtown, Golconda, and Rosiclare were isolated. Rescue work was started in earnest as pleas for help came from the valley towns. Naval militia boats were sent into the flood area. National Guard planes soared over Egypt to help establish communication with the isolated region and make necessary observations. The rescue work itself was hampered by wind, snow, sleet, and cold weather. Telephone and telegraph lines were injured by storm, and communication was largely confined to amateur radio stations. Waves two feet high and a powerful current made it impossible to use small boats for rescue work on the Ohio. It seemed that all Nature was in a conspiracy against man on Saturday, January 23. But in the face of terrific obstacles, relief work went ahead, and in the towns on the lower river, men patrolled the levees and piled row after row of sandbags on top of sea walls.

The evacuation of the Ohio Valley began in earnest with the advent of the new week. Flood waters had

climbed beyond the fifty-seven foot mark at Shawneetown and future safety for the inhabitants became increasingly dubious. About five hundred refugees were taken up the river by the steamer, *Patricia Barrett*, pushing a barge. Some people fled to the uplands. The Shawneetown High School, situated on a ridge outside the town, provided a haven for hundreds of people who remained jammed together there for days. By Sunday evening, apart from those engaged in rescue or defense work, only 150 persons remained in town, and they sought safety on the second and third stories of buildings. Red Cross and W.P.A. workers were rushed in to help the people. This was merely part of a gigantic rescue-relief program that was started by state and nation. In Washington, President Roosevelt put five federal agencies on what was described as virtually a wartime basis to help sufferers from the flood. The United States Coast Guard mobilized the greatest flood relief force in its history when it sent 800 men and 200 boats, representing practically every one of its units from Maine to Texas. Governor Henry Horner issued the statement, "I want everything necessary done to aid the flooded areas." In Illinois, the Emergency Relief Commission, the Health Department, the National Guard, and the Division of Highways swung into action to work with the regular Army and with the American Red Cross.

On Monday, January 25, the river at Cairo had risen to fifty-eight and three-tenths feet at 7:00 A. M., and the evacuation of that city began. Five thousand people left by automobile and train in the first exodus. The refugees were women and children. Men were allowed to escort their families northward on condition that they would return to help bolster the defense of the city.

Meanwhile the flight of the inhabitants from the other river towns, with the exception of the flood fighters, was practically completed.

The story of caring for the thousands of refugees in towns outside of the flood area is a monument to the generosity and compassion of the people of Illinois. The chronicle, to be complete, would far outstrip the limits of this article, for it was a program that directly or indirectly involved the entire state. There was hardly a town in Egypt, outside of the stricken region, but what had refugees to care for, and some communities in central and northern Illinois were also havens for the needy. Just to illustrate the type of work that was done, let me select the city of Carbondale as an example.

Refugees poured into this town by the hundreds. Some of them came by automobile and truck, but more often they were brought by railroad. Four trains, with a total of more than one hundred cars, carried about a thousand refugees and their belongings to Carbondale in one day. The victims who were financially able took rooms in hotels or with private families. However, the majority were destitute and were completely dependent on the accommodations that charity could provide for them. Some of the sufferers left their homes with no possessions other than the clothes they wore. Others managed to gather together pieces of movable property, livestock, and their pets. And speaking of pets, the devotion of human beings to their dogs, cats, and birds never has had better illustration than it did in this flood. Refugees refused to leave their pets at home and even objected to being separated temporarily from them, when assigned to relief stations. The tenacity with which one aged woman clung to a square cage containing four ca-

naries, during the trip north in a box car, is simply one case in point.

When trains bearing victims arrived, they were met by volunteers who assisted with the unloading, and escorted the refugees to registration depots and thence to their living quarters. College and high school students, as well as Boy Scouts, were prominent in this type of work. The sick were rushed to hospitals, while the able-bodied were quartered in churches, public buildings, and gymnasiums, and in Carbondale at the Teachers' College. Eventually 700 people were being cared for at the College. White refugees were placed in the Gymnasium, while the Negroes were put in the old Science Building. For several weeks these victims were accommodated and so efficiently was the project managed that not one day of school time was lost.

Rows of cots were arranged in the two buildings used for relief purposes at the College. This equipment, together with pillows and blankets, was supplied by the Army. Refugees were given food that was prepared in a field kitchen built on the south end of the Main Building of the school. Under the supervision of the National Guard, groups of W.P.A. workers, students, and refugees quickly built this kitchen and it was immediately put into use. Donations of food came from various parts of the state, while the remainder was purchased in the area. Heading the commissary was Leland P. Lingle, track coach of the College, who fed the refugees well and economically. Capt. William McAndrew, athletic director, supervised the entire relief project at the school.

The problem of handling the refugees was rendered easy by the coöperation of many individuals and groups.

The American Red Cross acted with its customary efficiency and was aided by groups of townspeople, faculty members at the College, and students. A health service was set up and refugees were given the best of medical attention. Vaccination against smallpox and inoculation against typhoid fever were provided. Refugees suffering from minor ailments were given attention in the gymnasiums, while those who developed serious symptoms were taken to the hospitals. It was this keen observation of, and ready attention for, the victims that did much to keep disease minimized among the worn, weakened people from the flood zone. As the relief work continued, the refugees aided in the management of affairs. Kitchen details were organized and these assisted in the serving of hundreds of people daily. At the College, special classes were organized so that refugee children would lose as little school work as possible. Entertainment in the form of concerts and motion pictures was furnished for adults and children.

The behavior of the refugees themselves provided an excellent opportunity for a psychologist interested in the conduct of fellow humans in distress. No generalizations are possible beyond the statement that so quickly had disaster come to Egypt that the majority of the victims were dazed, and that they were completely grateful for the accommodations afforded. In a few cases the people were hysterical. Others were dejected as they reviewed their losses. Many were resigned to the fact that they had lost all of their property, but were thankful that their lives and the lives of their associates had been spared. All of them were eager for information about their homes and were anxious to get in touch with relatives and friends from whom they had been sepa-



Behind the Shawneetown Levee



FLOOD SCENES, 1937

Upper Left—Strengthening the Cairo sea wall. Upper Right—New Madrid spillway.
Lower Left—First signs of flood in the Big Muddy. Lower Right—Wreckage at Brookport.

rated. Some found consolation in prayer. They were an orderly group, anxious to help their benefactors in the relief program and resolved to cause no more trouble than was necessary. For the most part they spent their time in little huddles around their cots, talking in hushed tones. Here they were, friends and neighbors from the same town, suddenly bunched together in a queer environment. "We have our entire missionary society here," a Brookport woman said to me as she looked up from a group that was seated on and about her cot.

No thought of belittling other communities that did relief work is intended by the author in his mentioning the program in Carbondale. What was done in that place was repeated in a score of other towns. Indeed the towns of Egypt showed every disposition to share the work, and when one place became saturated with victims, it could answer a half-dozen invitations to share the burden with others. Ultimately tented cities were created, and they lightened the load that the towns had borne at the outset of the disaster.

While many refugees were pouring out of the Ohio Valley, the able-bodied men remained to fight the flood. Temporary recess from the attack was given Cairo with the dynamiting of the fuse plug levee on the Missouri side. This was the old levee that followed the course of the Mississippi from the Ohio confluence to New Madrid. The blasting of this levee allowed the floodway of 131,000 acres to admit the waters and relieve the pressure on Cairo. Instead of watching the steady rise of the river, Cairo now saw a drop of two-tenths of a foot in twenty-four hours. The defenders were heartened by the information that the stage of the river would not change

appreciably for two or three days. Then, when the floodway basin would be full, the waters were expected to rise again. The truce, however, was welcome for it gave Cairo workers more time to extend the three-foot sandbag and timber bulkhead they were building on top of the wall that protects the city.

"FLOOD RECEDES AT LOUISVILLE" screamed the headlines on Thursday, January 28, and the public that had been gripped by the disaster in the upper Ohio Valley, now turned to watch the western part of the river. Inevitably, attention was focused on Cairo which was waiting for its crisis. For the first time since the Civil War, Cairo had the eyes of all America riveted upon it. By the next day, Cairo's first line of defense was completed, and the *Cairo Evening Citizen* commented: "Residents of Cairo, Alexander and Pulaski counties, WPA, CCC, and other workers by the thousands have done one of the fastest jobs of bulkheading ever accomplished anywhere. Thursday, the bulkhead was being extended with such rapidity that it seemed to be walking."[4]

One of the surprising aspects of the Cairo situation, to those of us who were high and dry, was the attitude of the people from that city. During the course of the relief work among the refugees, many times did I hear the statement, "Cairo has never had, and will never have a flood." Some of the refugees felt that their departure from the town was unnecessary, and that all would be well at Cairo. The *Citizen* reflected this attitude. Here was Cairo waiting for the crest, the river was rising again, more rains were forecast, and the bulkhead was yet to be tested. One would think that, in view of the tense situation, streamer headlines would have been used

[4] *Cairo Evening Citizen*, January 29, 1937, p. 1.

to deal with the local conditions. Yet in picking up the issue of January 30, one finds, "QUAKE FRIGHTENS TIPTONVILLE"[5] as the major headline. A minor tremor in Tennessee was played up—the vital Cairo situation subordinated. Even when the river was crawling close to the fifty-nine foot mark, a headline writer facetiously composed the following: "OLD MAN RIVER SETS A NEW ALL-TIME HIGH RECORD FOR THIS CITY."[6]

Towns near Cairo—Mound City, Mounds, Ullin, and others—were not to be spared. High water in the Cache River basin and backwater from the Ohio were responsible for this further disaster to Illinois. Mound City was completely deserted as the flood wrought damage that is not even yet fully repaired. The town of Mounds, earlier in the flood period, had been a refugee center; but, as the waters rose, its evacuation became necessary. Many of the victims made their escape before the road to the north was inundated and the town was completely cut off from the world. A few took refuge in a school building at the north of the town. The rapid rise of the flood waters was one of the remarkable aspects of the situation at Mounds. According to a school teacher who assisted with the rescue work there, the water rose from two to three feet in two hours' time. In the southern end of the town, my informant says it eventually attained a depth of fifteen feet. He estimated the property damage at Mounds, a town of about two thousand inhabitants, at $200,000.

As January ended, eight counties in southern Illinois were either completely or partly inundated, and the Red Cross estimated that the homes of 73,876 people were

[5] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1937, p. 1.
[6] *Ibid.*

flooded. Almost half that number were refugees. One of the astounding phases of the disaster was the flooding of Harrisburg, a city located more than twenty miles from the Ohio. The Saline River spilled over when the Ohio backed up and water rose in Harrisburg an inch an hour. From the county seat of Saline County to the Ohio River, there was practically a continuous sheet of water. All of Harrisburg was flooded except for a downtown orbit that encircled the courthouse. National Guard boats were the means of transportation in this community and several thousand people were hauled about in them every day.[7] It was from Harrisburg that one of the most helpful services in the disaster came. This was the valuable work of radio station WEBQ, which devoted most of its broadcasting time to relief and rescue work, not only for Saline County, but for all of southern Illinois. Thousands of Egyptians kept their radio dials constantly tuned to this station and listened to its bulletins about the crisis.

Meanwhile, the Ohio was rising and the crest drew nearer to Cairo. By Sunday, January 31, the peak of the disaster was at Evansville, Indiana, and southern Illinois knew that it was to experience the full strength of the river's fury next. Cairo, never completely shaken in confidence in its defense, became wary. A double bulkhead was constructed at the levee near the waterworks, and elsewhere the wall of sandbags was tightened. August Bode, mayor of the city, issued the following proclamation, which was ostentatiously carried on the front page of Sunday's *Citizen*:[8]

[7] Some excellent material on the disaster is contained in the "Flood Edition" of the *Herrin Daily Journal*, Herrin, Illinois, February, 1937. It includes some gripping pictures of the flood in Harrisburg.

[8] *Cairo Evening Citizen*, January 31, 1937, p. 1.

PROCLAMATION

The proclamation for the evacuation of the city of Cairo by all citizens except able-bodied men must be observed. All persons who have no means of transportation, other than able-bodied men, must report for transportation at once as follows:

White people at Safford School, Cross at Walnut.

Colored people at Sumner High School, 22nd and Poplar.

This must be done not later than 10 P. M., Sunday, January 31st.

The Red Cross has arranged for movement and care of all persons reporting at above places without expense. This order will be enforced by the Sheriff, police officers and the National Guard.

No persons will be permitted to enter the City of Cairo until further notice without a permit or on official business. No able-bodied men will be allowed to leave the city without a permit.

August Bode
Mayor.

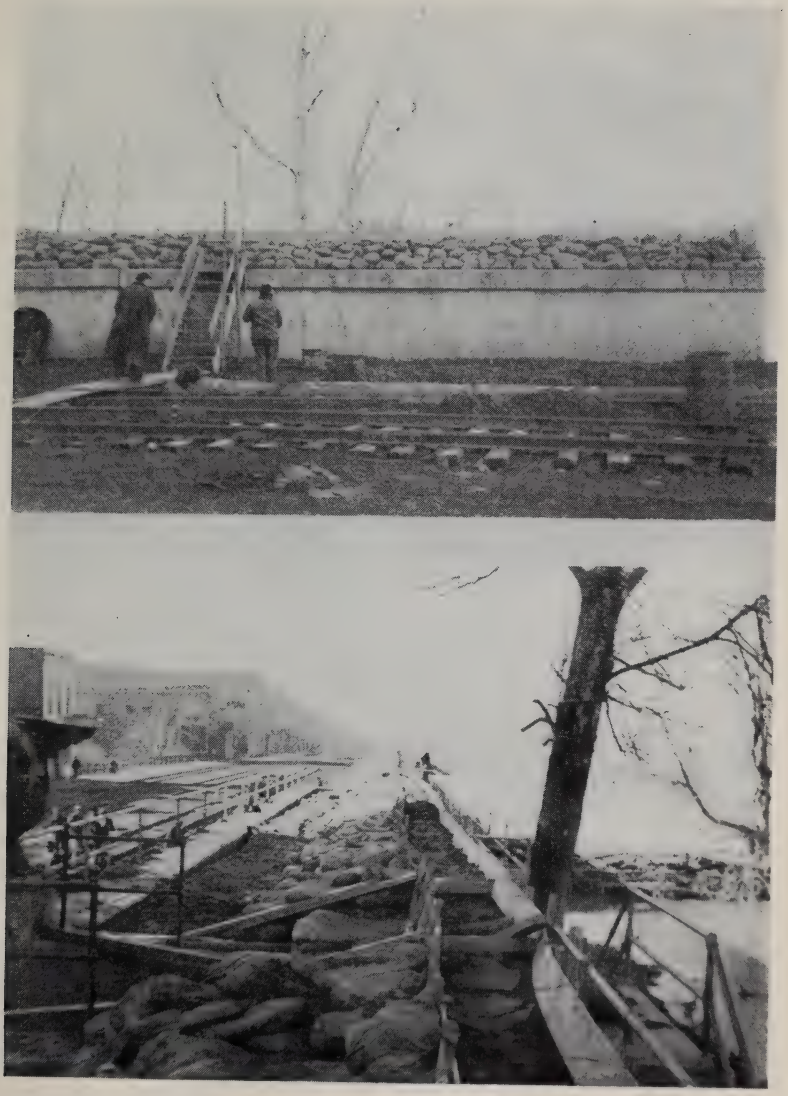
The above document was issued because some fifteen hundred women and children, in addition to the aged, sick, and infirm, were still within the city limits, despite potential danger and previous opportunities for evacuation. Indeed, the population of the town was actually growing, due to the arrival of refugees who had returned, workers from the outside, and sight-seers who were panting with curiosity. Once again the Cairo confidence asserted itself. It was not so much danger from the roaring Ohio that warranted the evacuation, it was stated, but the possibility of a fuel shortage.

The early days of February, nonetheless, were tense ones in Cairo as the town awaited the predicted crest of the flood. The Ohio finally rose to the fifty-nine and sixty-two hundredths foot mark. On Thursday, February 4, the first slight recession was noted after the waters had come within six inches of the top of the concrete sea wall. Observers rejoiced, but continued their vigil. By Friday, Cairo was positive it was victorious,

for the Ohio continued to recede and the town began to resume its normal life. Refugees, however, were not allowed to return immediately, for engineers concluded that there would be no absolute assurance of safety until the river dropped to the fifty-five foot mark. On February 10, the return of some of the people was allowed; those who were financially able to come back, and were willing to do so at their own risk, were given this permission. Scores of men who had remained in town to fight the flood now took their automobiles and went after their families who had been removed from the threatened area.

With the passing of danger, southern Illinois began the grim task of reconstruction. Many agencies contributed to this task, and conspicuous in the work were the State Department of Public Health and the National Guard. Approximately one thousand officers and men of the latter, under the command of Lieut. Col. Robert W. Davis, assisted in the rehabilitation program. Colonel Davis has described the task in an article in *The Illinois Guardsman*. He wrote:

> The [flood] area was divided into four sub-areas with their headquarters at Norris City, Harrisburg, Vienna and Cairo. Each of the sub-area commanders was given the necessary troops, trucks and equipment to handle the operations within his sub-area. He was advised that it was his show and that it was up to him to handle it; that my headquarters would interfere only as was required to coordinate the whole task. Camps were established near the points of principal operations—buildings, tents and even box cars were used for these camps. Troops began the work of patrolling, sometimes in boats, the towns which had been affected in order to protect life and property. Trucks were furnished for the hauling of food, water and other supplies and the moving of refugees from the scattered points to the central refugee camps. The Military Police Company was assigned the task of policing the refugee camps and the handling of traffic on the roads in the vicinity of the inundated towns and vil-



The Cairo Sea Wall



FLOOD SCENES, 1937

Upper Left—New Madrid spillway. Upper Right—High water at Metropolis. Lower Left—Brookport. Lower Right—Aftermath at Mound City.

lages. Fire protection was established in the villages and towns. Only the necessary traffic was permitted to enter any particular area until such time as the roads and streets were cleared and ready for normal traffic. A railhead was established in West Frankfort and the 108th Quartermaster Regiment, in addition to the general hauling mentioned above, was given the task of distributing food and clothing to the units in the area. This railhead was efficiently operated by members of the State Detachment.[9]

Also prominent in the cleanup program were the W.P.A. and the Red Cross. The former supplied much of the labor, while the latter fed and clothed the refugees and handled the administration of the refugee camps until it was possible for the homeless to return. As late as February 19, over 2,700 refugees still had to be cared for, and four camps—located at Anna, Marion, Wolf Lake, and Pinckneyville—were still in operation. According to Walter Wesseulius, who directed the flood relief work in Egypt, the Red Cross spent $1,100,000 in relief and rehabilitation work in southern Illinois, and in addition distributed approximately a half-million dollars' worth of donated foodstuffs among the sufferers.[10]

Even in late February, Shawneetown was still inundated, and observers on the twenty-fifth found that eight to ten feet of water remained in the town. The opening of the clogged sewers (two mattresses were found in one pipe) permitted a drop of an inch of water every two hours. So stricken was the community that investigators learned that only twenty houses in the entire place were fit for habitation when the waters receded.

Throughout the emergency period and during the weeks of reconstruction, another agency played an im-

[9] "The Illinois National Guard and the 1937 Flood," *The Illinois Guardsman*, March, 1937, p. 5.

[10] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 28, 1937, p. 11A.

portant part. It was the State Highway Department, the men of District Nine having the chief responsibility of fighting the floods that covered one thousand miles of primary and secondary roads. Keeping some of the roads open, saving others and repairing still others constituted the job of the Highway Department, which operated efficiently throughout the crisis. Saline and Gallatin were the two counties that particularly required the work of the department.

Now that the waters have subsided and the work of rehabilitation is progressing, thoughtful people are raising the question, "What can Illinois do to prevent the recurrence of these floods?" As these disasters grow mightier with the years, the answer is one that should be evaded no longer. Indeed, it has already been postponed far too long. One thing is certain—the problem is not that of this state alone—it is a problem for all America. Illinois, at the receiving end of the Ohio Valley, cannot solve the flood question without coöperation from the upper valley and from the areas washed by the many streams that enter the Ohio.

The first step that can be taken is to make the people of Illinois and the rest of the nation highly conscious of the perennial danger of floods, and of the ruthless raping of our natural resources that has so largely contributed to creating them. Then the task will be to find remedies. To create an intelligent understanding of the subject, I suggest that volumes such as Stuart Chase's *Rich Land, Poor Land* be made required reading for our voters and taxpayers.

At least three types of artificial flood control should be studied. They are the development of immense storage reservoirs, improvements on river channels so that the

capacity of flow may be increased, and finally, more levees and higher sea walls. Since the flood of 1937, a reaction has set in against the latter device. To many, the use of the levee-sea wall is a costly method that is becoming less and less satisfying. It is the opiate that lessens the pain and does not go to the origin of the malady. For two centuries, men have depended on the levee as a major protection against floods, but as Stuart Chase phrases it: "Every year it grows more preposterous. With river bottoms rising because of the piles of silt that are washed from fields, the use of the levee becomes increasingly impractical."[11]

The only sound method of attacking the flood menace is a long-range program of planning in a coöperative manner by federal and state governments. It would have as a principal phase the introduction of a program of conservation on a scale never before attempted in this country. It would try to prevent (1) destruction of forests, (2) stripping of grass lands, and (3) improper cultivation of lands in the river valleys. An important cause of floods today is the rapid run-off of water from the watersheds. Geographers insist that our thoughtless use of natural resources has permitted water to run off the hills into the rivers at a rate three times faster than was the speed before our ruthless methods began. If mankind can be educated (or possibly legislated) into stopping its blundering tactics, if a system of reservoirs can be provided, if river channels can be deepened or widened, then it is possible that in some Utopian tomorrow, Illinois may be spared repetitions of the disaster of 1937.

[11] Stuart Chase, *Rich Land, Poor Land* (New York, 1936), 169.

THE FRENCH AND BRITISH AT PLAY IN THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1760-1796

BY NELSON VANCE RUSSELL

THE settlers of the Old Northwest during the British régime found considerable time for leisure midst a busy life, although it is true that their energies were mainly devoted to the practical problems of clearing small areas of the forest for their villages, planting crops, building homes, trading in furs, and constantly struggling with the Indians. These people were the pioneers of a new civilization in the vast hinterland which now comprises the populous states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Theirs was to toil and fight, and yet a study of their life shows that there were many leisure hours to be filled with games and sports of all kinds. One discovers that despite a large degree of isolation from the outside world, and the fact that distances were so great from village to village as to make common exchange of interests and ideas almost impossible, their social activities were about the same as they were in the East. Human nature did not vary greatly, whether in the fur posts of the Old Northwest, or in Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia.

At the close of the French period there were a number of settlements in the Old Northwest, largely fur trading posts. Among these were Detroit and Michillimackinac within the present confines of the state of Michigan,

Vincennes on the Wabash River, and several small villages scattered along the Mississippi, extending from the mouth of the Kaskaskia River northward seventy-five miles to Cahokia.

The leading citizens of these villages were members of three different groups. The first, and by far the most important group, was made up of the old and well-established French families known as the "gentry"—a rather elastic term—among whom there was to be found a considerable degree of refinement and culture.[1] Some of these came from the better classes in Canada and France, and made an effort to surround themselves with all the luxuries that could be brought from Canada and Europe. A few possessed considerable capital before migrating to Michigan and Illinois, and others rose to prominence by industry, astuteness, and good fortune. Among the more prominent were Jean Baptiste Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, the Bauvais, Charleville, Viviat, Janis, and Cerré families of Kaskaskia, and the Saucier, François Trottier, Girardin, and J. B. H. La Croix families of Cahokia.[2] In Detroit, there were the Barthe, Campau, Navarre, Labadie, Drouillard, Legrand, Baptiste, and Jacques Baby families.[3] Gay they were, and lighthearted, yet pious; honest beyond comparison, generous

[1] An excellent discussion of the French Canadians is found in Victor Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution, A Study in English-American Colonial History* (*Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. Economics, Political Science, and History Series*, I, no. 3, Madison, 1896), chap. I. A good account of the French villages is in Albert A. Babeau, *Le Village Sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1882), chap. I.

[2] C. W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, Springfield, 1907), xix-xx. John Jennings noted that some of the Illinois inhabitants were wealthy, but in general "very indolent." C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The New Régime 1765-1767* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, Springfield, 1916), 177.

[3] *The John Askin Papers*, edited by Milo M. Quaife (Detroit, 1928), I: *passim*. See also C. M. Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922* (Detroit, 1922), vols. I and II. Among some of the prominent families at Michillimackinac, though not of the gentry, were the Ainse, Chevalier, Sejournée, Langlade, Bourassa, Cauchois, Cadotte and Chaboillez families.

to a fault, hospitable, free, and laughter-loving, with no cares from "ambition or science."[4] They always seemed to enjoy life keenly, being gay even when times were at their worst. Possibly ignorant of books they were, but certainly neither boorish nor unintelligent. Their easy-going ways were doubtless due to their placing no great value on time, of which they had an abundance.

The British fur traders and merchants who came into the country at the close of the Seven Years' War made another social group. They were industrious and energetic, and it was not long before success crowned their efforts, making them clearly the leading force both economically and socially.

Again, there were the military officers at the forts, who found time hanging heavily on their hands, with only the dull routine of garrison duty to perform. They constituted a very important element in the social life, and found plenty of attractive, vivacious young women for partners at the balls, which were the principal convivial activities of the posts.

Below these groups was the large mass of people: *habitants*, *coureurs de bois*, *voyageurs*, and slaves. These were pleasure-loving also, dissipating their energies for the most part in "drinking, gambling, and gossiping; and as irresponsible as children, they were easily turned aside from the pursuit of their real interests." But with all their faults, conspicuous though they were, the *habitants* differed much from the American frontiersmen. The latter had no respect for law and authority, while the *habitants* usually preferred to be guided by law in their

[4] Apparently life did not change much, for as late as 1836 a similar description of the French in Kaskaskia was given by Edmund Flagg. *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXVII: 52 ff.

intercourse. Quarrels were frequent, but instead of ending them in fights, they went to the courts for settlement; especially in their business transactions, the French sought the aid of a judge or notary.[5] C. F. Volney, the noted traveler who made a tour of the upper Mississippi Valley toward the close of the eighteenth century, was not favorably impressed with these people. He wrote:

> They know nothing of civil or domestic affairs: their women can neither sow, nor spin, nor make butter, but spend their time in gossiping and tattle, while all at home is dirt and disorder. The men take to nothing but hunting, fishing, roaming in the woods, and loitering in the sun. They do not lay up, as we do for winter or provide for a rainy day. They cannot cure pork or venison, make sour kraut or spruce beer, or distill spirits from apples, or rye, all needful arts to the farmer. If they trade, they try by exhorbitant charges to make much out of a little; for *little* is generally their *all*, and what they get they throw away upon the Indian girls, in toys and bawbles. Their time is wasted too in trifling stories of their insignificant adventures, and journies *to town* to see their friends. . . . [Thus they speak of New Orleans, as if it were a walk of half an hour, instead of fifteen hundred miles down the river.]
>
> The Frenchman, on the contrary, will be up betimes, for the pleasure of viewing and talking over matters with his wife, whose counsel he demands. Their constant agreement would be quite a miracle: the wife dissents, argues, wrangles, and the husband has his own way, or gives up to her, and is irritated or disheartened. Home, perhaps, grows irksome, so he takes his gun, goes a shooting or a journeying, or to chat with a neighbour. If he stays at home, he either whiles away the hour in good humoured talk, or he scolds and quarrels. Neighbors interchange visits: for to visit and talk are so necessary to a Frenchman, from habit. . . . There is nowhere a settler of that nation to be found, but within sight or reach of some other. On asking how far off the remotest settler was, I have been told, He is in the woods, with the bears, a league from any house, and with nobody to talk to

[5] Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, xviii, 589. Another picture of conditions is found in C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *Trade and Politics 1767-1769* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVI, Springfield, 1921), 497. This describes the French of Illinois as "a Cunning, litigous, jealous, set of people."

The Frenchman's ideas evaporate in ceaseless chat; he exposes himself to bickering and contradiction; excites the garrulity of his wife and sisters; involves himself in quarrels with his neighbours; and finds in the end, that his life has been squandered away without use or benefit.[6]

Other travelers seemed to be more or less of the same impression. George Croghan described the French of Detroit as "generally poor wretches . . . a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for their subsistence."[7] Philip Pittman noted that the male inhabitants of Illinois were "very superstitious and ignorant."[8] Victor Collot, after an extended journey through the interior of North America, described the settlers of the Illinois region as follows:

These people are, for the most part, traffickers, adventurers, hunters, rowers, and warriors; ignorant, superstitious, and obstinate; accustomed to fatigue and privations, and stopped by no sense of danger in the undertakings they form, and which they usually accomplish.

In domestic life, their characters and dispositions are similar to those of the Indians with whom they live; indolent, careless, and addicted to drunkenness, they cultivate little or no ground, speak a French jargon, and have forgotten the division of time and months. If they are asked at what time such an event took place, they answer, "in the time of the great waters, of the strawberries, of the maize, of potatoes:" if they are advised to change any practice which is evidently wrong, or if observations are made to them respecting the amelioration of agriculture, or the augmentation of any branch of commerce, the only answer they give is this: "It is the custom; our fathers did so: I have done well; my children will do the same." They love France, and speak of their country with pride.[9]

[6] C. F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1804), 336-37, 346-47.

[7] "Croghan's Journals" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I: 152.

[8] Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, edited by F. H. Hodder (Cleveland, 1906), 102. Jacob Lindley described the French at Detroit as "superstitiously religious, going to mass more than two hundred days in the year." "Jacob Lindley's Account," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (Lansing, 1892), XVII:595.

[9] Victor Collot, *A Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826), I:232-33. See *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1908* (Springfield, 1909), 286.

The French gentlemen, when entertaining guests and attending mass or balls, dressed "beyond their means" and loved to appear "grand abroad."[10] There is an abundance of evidence to be found in the numerous settlements of estates drawn up by the notary clerk and preserved in the Kaskaskia manuscripts, to indicate a luxury of dress that is astonishing; richly trimmed coats, embroidered waist coats with "diamond" buttons, silken hose and silver buckles are among some of the items frequently mentioned for the wealthier inhabitants. Both men and women made an effort to imitate as far as possible the styles of Paris or other European cities. Travelers recorded that stores and shops were well furnished, with every kind of fine cloth, linen in fact, and every article of apparel for men and women.[11] These were sold on the frontier nearly as reasonably as they were in New York and Philadelphia. Descriptions of dances, especially the more elaborate balls, pictured the men as wearing "very fine fur caps" adorned with "Black Ostridge Feathers" and amazingly large "Cockades" of white tinsel ribbon, and again, dressed in "their best bibs & Tuckers."[12] The women at the posts, like many of their sex still, were said to pay too much attention to dressing their heads, and when making social calls decked themselves as though "their parents possessed the greatest dignities in the state." As in every age and clime, the men complained of their improvident attention to the newest fashions, since, in spite of their isolation, the woman were not unfamiliar with the best

[10] Henry Hamilton to the Earl of Dartmouth, August 29-September 2, 1776, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, X:267; "Lindley's Account," *ibid.*, XVII:566-632.

[11] Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America During the Years of 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1800), II: 185-86.

[12] "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier; Henry Hay's Journal from Detroit to the Mississippi River," edited by M. M. Quaife, *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings, 1914* (Madison, 1915), 240-41. Henry Hay was the son of Lieut. Gov. John (Jehu) Hay.

of the day's vogue. Relatives or friends who traveled, advised the frontier women of all the changes of Dame Fashion. One, Archange Askin, second child of Mr. and Mrs. John Askin of Detroit, married Captain David Meredith and shortly after moved to England. Her charming and vivacious letters to her parents and sisters at home kept them well informed on the styles of dress in England.

> Low crowned chip hats [she advised], with large bows of strip coloured ribbon, is the prevailing system, with frilld calico jackets, and broad sashes, and nothing is now so vulgar for either gentlemen, or lady, as to be seen with a silk stocking that appears the least blue.[13]

She was very observant, all which duly affected the styles in the faraway frontier posts.

> I notice [she wrote her mother] that all the ladies are wearing their skirts almost under the arms so as to raise the waist line. Sashes are about the width of a narrow collar and are fastened at the back with a buckle. Neckerchiefs are very open as formerly and the neckband very narrow. The hair is curled, hanging at the back and arranged in small curls in front, with a piece of ribbon or a band of muslin around the head; even a thin lawn handkerchief arranged for a headdress, with a white feather in it, is very fashionable in the best society, so there is no need of going to great expense about dressing the hair.[14]

A careful inspection of the contemporary records furnishes data which accords rather poorly with the popu-

[13] Mrs. Meredith to Askin, April 7, 1793, Quaife, *Askin Papers*, I: 470-71. James MacDonald mentioned in a letter, March 10, 1761, the "handsome appearance" of the ladies who came to the commandant's quarters "every Sunday night . . . to play at Cards . . . till twelve O'clock at night." Photostat in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. The originals are in the British Museum.

[14] Mrs. Meredith to Mrs. Askin, February 3, 1795, *Askin Papers*, I: 534-35. Her letters were full of such descriptions. *Ibid.*, 517, 575-76. Some of the military men picked their wives from the frontier women, and found upon their removal to England some social difficulties. Captain Henry Bird found himself in such a predicament. He wrote: "The ladies have undertaken to drill Mrs. Bird and do not despair of her coming in and out of a room without being taken for an Indian Lady in less than a year." Bird to William Edgar, January 28, 1785, Edgar MSS. (These papers are in the private collection of Herman Edgar of New York City). For a sketch of Bird, see *ibid.*, 186.

lar conception of frontier habits and dress. The inventories of wardrobes found in these wilderness settlements show a profusion of rich attire. John Askwith, a clerk of John Askin, falling heavily into debt, had his wardrobe, which he brought from Montreal, sold at public auction.[15] One item, two pairs of leather breeches, was quite in keeping with the times.

But what manner of life did this recently penniless Detroit clerk lead that should account for the possession of thirty-six other pairs of breeches and trousers? A vest is a conventional article of male attire, but what social functions did Askwith attend which should necessitate the possession of thirty different vests? For the most part these garments are not described, but included in the number was one satin vest (did it match the satin breeches?), one of cassimere, one of white cloth, and one "black vest princess stuff." Among other items of this pioneer Detroiter's wardrobe were a dozen shirts, ten cravats, and fifteen coats. There was a "camblet" coat, and a "camblet" cloak, a great coat, a white cloth coat, there black coats, and three flannel jackets.

A "parcel old hose and black tosels" was sold for nineteen shillings. Did the auctioneer arbitrarily lump these things together, or did a Detroit gentleman in those days wear tassels on his hose? If not, to what other use did Askwith put the tassels, and what did the purchaser expect to do with them? In the absence of more detailed information one can only speculate on these matters. But there is no need to speculate over the "parcel of ruffles and 2 black stocks," which was sold immediately after the hose and "tosels."

Then there were silk gloves, shoe-buckles and other articles too numerous to mention. One finds no lack of clothes for every occasion.[16]

[15] For this information and much which follows, I am indebted to the valuable article by M. M. Quaife, *Detroit Biographies: John Askwith (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, VII, no. 4, Detroit, 1929), *passim*.

[16] Askin wrote from Michillimackinac for a piece of silk with the "trimmings." Askin to Isaac Todd and James McGill, May 8, 1778, *Askin Papers*, I: 84; and later he mentioned his great need of waistcoats and breeches, and six or eight yards of fine white cloth and suitable "trimmings." Same to same, June 23, 1778, *ibid.*, 143-44. In May, he ordered twelve pairs of shoes for Mrs. Askin, and a wedding gown of "french fashion" for Kitty. Same to same, May 28, 1778, *ibid.*, 102. The next month he sent a request for a gold thimble. Same to Richard Dobie, June 15, 1778, *ibid.*, 132. See Hay's descriptions of life at Miamitown in his Journal, *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1914*, p.

The women had other traits of Mother Eve, aside from their interest in clothes and styles. One traveler recorded:

> One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married. The next, how he likes the ladies in the country, and whether he thinks them handsomer than those of his own country; and the third, whether he will take one of them home with him.[17]

In this game of love, some unusual events occurred. William Edgar, with his "amorous Competitor, C. Barber" broke the heart of the "once admired Miss Gouin."[18] James Bannerman thought this passion contagious at Detroit, "where its operations" seemed "in general singular and sometimes whimsical." John Hay longed to be back at Detroit, for he detested New York. This, he admitted, was because of the rumor that "fair Ellen [was] murdering people by dozens." He was not surprised, for he acknowledged she had "charmed enough to captivate many."[19]

But, as in all other phases of life, love was not without serious problems, for even the frontier had a code of morals. Captain Bird complained to Edgar of his serious loss when Mrs. Schieffelin left Detroit:

> I was deprived of the happiness of her Society some months before her departure, some illiberal transactions of her very unworthy Partner, banished him from every Gentleman's company and I (from the arbitrary exactions of hard hearted custom) was reduced to the situation of Tantalus, and endured an intellectual famine in sight of a Rational banquet.[20]

216 ff. In the many letters of George Morgan, one finds similar data for Illinois. Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, *passim*.

[17] Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (London, 1770), 691-92. This was typical of the frontier, it seems. Askin, in 1778, congratulated Sampson Fleming upon the birth of a boy. "Perhaps," he wrote, "he may one Day become my Son in law, I have Girls worth looking at." Askin to Fleming, April 28, 1778, *Askin Papers*, I: 79.

[18] Bannerman to Edgar, October 14, 1779, Edgar MSS.

[19] Hay to Edgar, July 8, 1784, *ibid.*

[20] Bird to Edgar, July 8, 1784, *ibid.*

He asked Edgar to see his friend and tell her that "no man admires her more, that I even love her as much as I ought."[21] Neither did love go smoothly for William Maxwell, for his Sally "eloped from her bed and board" to live in a "house of her own."[22] But he seemed, after living with her a year, to be glad of the change. "She tired me heartily," he claimed, "I mean with her tongue and hands." To his friend he confided: "I believe on the whole Socrates need no more be quoted for his patience with his wife where my story is known."[23] Nevertheless, in spite of all difficulties, these people were jovial and light-hearted, ever seeking pleasure in racing, hunting, dancing, lavish entertaining, card playing, and the various winter sports.

Most of the gentry lived comfortably and well. One account states that François Trottier at Cahokia was "grandly Housed" and that his home had a "great furnished hall."[24] The property of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia was described as being divided "into many low apartments" and in addition there were "cow sheds, Negro cabins, a barn, a stable, a weaving room, a horse mill [and] a dovecote."[25] One journalist described the houses of Kaskaskia as "well built mostly of stone," and he fur-

[21] *Ibid.* He began: "Mrs. Schieffelin whose figure and genius you and I have so often admired."

[22] Maxwell to Edgar, May 25, 1767, *ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.* On August 4, 1768, he wrote that all was going well again. Fleming wrote to Edgar: "Kiss all the ladies for me that will let you and I'll do the same for you." September 9, 1782, *ibid.* Edgar must have been the Don Juan of Detroit. Apparently doctors advocated a change of clime when a youth suffered a "melancholy disorder" from love affairs. This was Donald Campbell's impression. Campbell to Henry Bouquet, April 20, 1763, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIX: 182. Sterling sent Lt. John Wynne, at Fort Erie, a barrel of 900 good onions. "Enough" he wrote, "to spoil your kissing for one Winter." Sterling Letter Book, September 18, 1765. Copy in the Burton Historical Collection.

[24] Narrative of Jean Baptiste Perrault in *ibid.*, XXXVII: 517.

[25] C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period 1763-1765* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, X, Springfield, 1915), 126; Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 327. See also Pittman, *Present State of the European Settlements*, 85; and Volney, *View of the Soil and Climate*, 368.

ther noted that the inhabitants lived "generally well."[26] No doubt these villages presented to the visitor a peaceful and orderly appearance, with an air of permanency unusual on the frontier. Most of the houses had pointed roofs, thatched or bark, extending over the "galleries" or porches.

> At one end of the building, and sometimes at both ends, was the large chimney of the generous fireplace. The houses stood close to the street for sociability's sake, and the yard around was protected by a whitewashed picket fence, within which were a flower garden, a small orchard of fruit trees, a vegetable garden, slaves' cabins, and a barn.[27]

An inventory of the property of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia listed sixty-eight Negroes trained as farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, brewers and masons. Some of the wealthier families were even better off and owned numerous slaves. A member of the Bauvais family in 1765 owned eighty slaves and furnished the royal magazine at one time with eighty-six thousandweight of flour—which was only a part of one year's harvest. While no Detroit or Michillimackinac family had as many slaves, nevertheless, Indian or Negro slaves were common in all the more important families in the Old Northwest.

The settler was especially fond of horses, and horse

[26] Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 297. Such was also George Rogers Clark's observation. J. A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, Springfield, 1912), 30. Thomas Hutchins described the houses of Kaskaskia as "well built; several of stone, with gardens, and large lotts adjoining." Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*, edited by F. C. Hicks (Cleveland, 1904), 107-108.

[27] This description is taken from C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield, 1820), 215. In Detroit, the houses were of "Log or frame Work, shingled," and with the orchards adjoining, gave the settlement a "very smiling" appearance. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, X:267. Again, the buildings were described as "low, being mostly a story and a half," and "the farms fertile." *Ibid.*, XVII: 595.

racing was one of his favorite pastimes.[28] With the coming of the English, more and more horses were introduced and efforts were put forth to improve the breed; in the last decade of the eighteenth century almost everyone had at least one horse, while the more prosperous merchants and traders possessed several.

During the winter months, pony racing on the ice was indulged in, with every young man of the village testing out a pony of uncertain speed.[29] An individual might challenge the whole village, or the village might challenge him, and then things began to happen. When the ice was solid, these races would take place along the edge of a river or lake; at Detroit they were held most frequently upon the River Rouge, a small stream below the main settlement, which, having a sluggish current, furnished excellent ice in season. This made an ideal place for that kind of sport, especially on account of the circuitous channel which allowed spectators to spread out considerably and have an unobstructed view.

> Every Sunday after mass the crowd gathered at the appointed place and the fun was on. The challenged and the challenger brought out their ponies and scored for a start, while the crowd sized up the animals and the betting was furious. There was no starter, no jockey, no book-maker, no drawing for the pole. Each driver handled the reins over his own animal. He maneuvered for position and took his chances with his adversary. And when at last the ponies were off for the mile stretch down the river, the excitement among the multitude on the bank was something tremendous. If ever violence was done to the French language, it was upon such occasions, when individual opinions were struggling for utterance from hundreds of throats. Large sums of money changed hands, con-

[28] *Ibid.*, IV: 74-75. A census in 1767 listed 216 horses at Kaskaskia and 260 at Vincennes. Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 469. Thomas Hutchins mentioned the fine breed of horses. Hutchins, *op. cit.*, 100. Lindley noted that the French at Detroit were seen after mass "frolicking and horse racing in the road passing the worship house." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII: 595.

[29] *Ibid.*, I: 54; IV: 75.

sidering the financial resources of the town.[30]

Races often ended in severe altercations, sometimes leading to blows; disputes were commonly settled in court.

Not less popular in the winter were the sleighing and skating parties.[31] When the autumnal rains came, submerging the lowlands, the wintry frosts soon followed, converting the flooded areas into miniature seas of glass. Detroit was especially fortunate in this respect, for about three or four miles above the fort was a large marsh, called by the French, *Le Grand Marais*. Here, when the winter weather was favorable, the inhabitants of the fort and village gave themselves unrestrainedly to the pleasures of dancing and other festivities. In the fall the young men of the town would build a long, narrow, log hut, with a fireplace at each end, for their parties. Rough hewn tables, which were easily taken down, were placed here and there. Early on Saturdays, young and old would come in sleighs, and after a sumptuous meal of wild turkey, bear steak and venison, washed down with quantities of wine, the rest of the day was spent in games of various kinds, but principally in dancing. These activities continued until the evening gun warned the party that:

> The evening shades might be but 'vantage ground
> For some fell foe.

Next day, Sunday, the gentlemen would go back after mass and spend the day in carousal, feasting on the remains of the preceding day's feast. Sleigh-riding on the

[30] Henry M. Utley and Byron M. Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State, the Twenty-Sixth Member of the Federal Union* (New York, 1906), I: 316.

[31] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I: 360-61; Madelaine Askin to John Askin, October 15, 1792, *Askin Papers*, I: 441.

ice, and balls and parties in town furnished entertainment for the rest of the week. "The summer's earnings scarce sufficed for the winter's waste."[32] Indeed, one "French official wrote in 1737 that the inhabitants of the Illinois were burdened by debts as a result of their excessive drinking and gambling."[33]

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The people of the Illinois region were not usually so fortunate as those farther north, in having winters severe enough to furnish sufficient ice for skating or sleighing parties. However, the winter of 1783 was an exception in that the Mississippi froze from bank to bank at Cahokia and the ice held for an entire month "which gave the Créoles and the Spanish The pleasure of visiting." The crust of snow which had formed was strong enough to bear men and boys who were able to kill the deer with a "Stroke of the Hatchet" in the surrounding region.[34]

Descriptions of the parties of that day are found in the poetry of the period too, for even the frontier did not lack its poets. One of the best known of all the post officials was Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, who settled at Dumfries, Scotland, after the War of American Independence. Here he became a close friend of his neighbor, Robert Burns. De Peyster was somewhat of a writer, and several of his short poems related to his life at Michillimackinac, Detroit, and Niagara, where he was commandant during the stirring years of 1775-1783. In

[32] E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan From the First Settlement to 1815* (New York, 1856), 371-72. Entertaining was very common and there was genuine hospitality. See especially the letter of George Morgan to his partners, Baynton and Wharton, October 30, 1768, Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 447. One writer mentioned a ball which he attended at Fort de Chartres "given by a Gentleman of the Army, to the French Inhabitants who made a very droll appearance." Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 177. Hutchins also noted the politeness and hospitality of these folk. Hutchins, *op. cit.*, 110.

[33] Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 218.

[34] Narrative of Perrault, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVII: 516.

one of his poems he pictured the canoeing and racing on the River Rouge.[35] He enumerated those who were present, and described the festivities, the dancing, the races, and of course the drinking. All who had horses were present. The manager of the festivities for the occasion was Guillaume La Mothe, a Frenchman who was an officer in the Indian Department. An elaborate frontier feast followed the race, which was greatly enjoyed by the officers of the post, their wives, and their guests. So much drinking was indulged in that the party became boisterous and hilarious. With unusual license, the poet had the wild bears and deer come from the nearby woods and watch the pleasure-seekers in their hilarity.

The *habitant* was especially fond of a wedding, and kept up its festivities several days. The banns, announced at mass[36] on three preceding Sundays, formed the main subject of conversation in the ensuing days, for marriage was a lifelong contract of serious import, divorce being unknown. At the betrothal, the marriage contract was signed by both parties, their relatives, and their friends.[37] The bride also furnished a dowry, the amount depending upon the position of her father.[38] The ceremony took place soon after the betrothal. After the signing of the certificate and the church register, a

[35] *Miscellanies by an Officer, 1774-1813*, edited by J. W. de Peyster (New York, 1888).

[36] Sometimes this could not be done, as the "Mackinac Register" shows. The priest, under unusual circumstances, failed to announce the banns. *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections* (Madison, 1908, 1910), XVIII:471 ff. and XIX: 149. At Vincennes, the banns were published for three Sundays, but no doubt there were many irregularities. Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 526-27. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants were not unknown. C. W. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, Springfield, 1909), 570-71.

[37] See *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV: 75-76, for a copy of a marriage contract; also M. M. Quaife, *Some Glimpses of Life in Ancient Detroit* (*Burton Hist. Col. Leaflet*, III, no. 1, Detroit, 1924), 6-8.

[38] *Askin Papers*, I: 31-37. When James Sterling married Angelique Cuillerier, her father gave nearly a thousand pounds in dowry consisting of horses, money, and peltry. Sterling Letter Book, February 26, 1765.

great celebration followed, lasting for many hours, or until all were fatigued.[39] Sometimes the party took place at the *Grand Marais*, or, with dancing and feasting, at the home of the bride. The menu was in strange contrast with our modern feasts:

> The *coup d'appetit* was passed around, brandy for the gentlemen, some mild cordial for the ladies; then followed the repast. Soup, *poissons blanc* (whitefish), *poisson doree* (pickerel), pike, roast pig, with its dressing of potatoes, blood pudding, partridges, wild turkey, ragouts, venison larded, pates of *pommes de terre* (potatoes), sagammite, a dish of porridge made of cracked corn, eaten with cream and maple sugar, . . . *praline* was dried corn, pounded fine and mixed with maple sugar; . . . *galettes au buerre*, *crocquecignole* (a sort of doughnut), *omelette soufflee*, floating islands, pears, apples, raspberries, grapes in summer. Coffee ended the feast.[40]

Other diversions were shooting,[41] hunting, and fishing. Every man had his gun and knew how to use it. Indeed, his life very often depended upon his proficiency in the use of this instrument. The neighboring woods

[39] One can trace the relationship and social position of the parties in the church registers. "Mackinac Register," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII: 471 ff. Reuben Gold Thwaites, "At the Meeting of the Trails; the Romance of a Parish Register," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings* (Cedar Rapids, 1913), VI: 210-14 gives a vivid picture of some of the marriages.

[40] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV: 76-77. Vegetables, fruits and meats of all kinds were found in abundance. See especially "Augustin Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III: 255; XVIII: 272-73; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII: 640 ff; and the accounts of officials such as Henry Hamilton, Robert Rogers, John Bradstreet, Edward Abbott and Richard Dobie, and various travelers such as Johnathan Carver, Isaac Weld, John Lees, Alexander Henry and the Quakers who visited Detroit in 1793. Even delicacies from the outside world were not unknown. Capt. Dederick Brehm sent a keg of olives to some friends in Detroit, and wrote: "They were extremely good when I got them and I hope will arrive sound and good to your place." Brehm to Edgar, April 29, 1772, Edgar MSS. George Morgan, at Fort de Chartres, wrote his wife that he had "two Years Provisions in the House consisting of Salt Petred Gammons, Rounds of Beef, Buffaloe Tongues, Vennison & Bears Hams &c &c" and a large house containing 200 "couple" of pigeons. Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 480, 481. Morgan also mentioned, in another letter, receiving tea "of a very bad quality," chocolate, coffee, sugar, rice, salt, etc. These settlers were not without the good things of the day. *Ibid.*, 441.

[41] Fleming described his pleasures in hunting on the *Grand Marais* at Detroit. When leaving Montreal for Ireland to shoot ducks, September 9, 1782, he requested a small bag of wild rice from the *Grand Marais*, "cost what it will." Fleming to Edgar, Edgar MSS.

abounded in partridge (grouse), wild turkey, hare, deer, and what not, while the waters were filled with fish such as trout, whitefish, and sturgeon.[42] Record after record tells of fishing parties on the Great Lakes in the winter. Holes were cut in the ice, in which were set lines and bait. Nets were dexterously placed under the ice for whitefish weighing three to seven pounds, which were used as bait to catch trout weighing from ten to sixty pounds. Now and then this sport ended in stark tragedy, for many a fisherman never returned. In summer, the weather was so hot and the air so filled with mosquitoes and black flies as to be a "counterpoise to the pleasure of hunting" and fishing. Nevertheless, Alexander Henry related his pleasure in shooting large numbers of wild pigeons at Sault Ste. Marie.[43] The marshes and swampy areas along the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Rock and other rivers were a hunter's paradise in the fall when great flocks of wild geese and ducks stopped to feed before going farther south.[44]

During the spring, summer, and early fall, boat races were very popular. Every male was trained early in the management of the canoe, for boats were objects of necessity on the frontier. Rivers and lakes were the main roads in summer, and the only vehicle was the canoe.[45] Nevertheless, travel was not always by water, for at a very early period a road was built to connect the Illinois villages. It followed the American Bottom from Kaskas-

[42] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I: 361; Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York, 1809), 53.

[43] *Ibid.*, 53-55, 59-61.

[44] It was recorded that the plains along the Mississippi were well stocked with buffalo, and "all Sorts of Game." Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 106. Clark wrote Mason, November 19, 1779, that the Illinois area was "covered with Buffaloes and other Game." James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 154. Hutchins made a similar observation. Hutchins, *Topographical Description*, 106.

[45] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I: 365-67.

kia to St. Philippe, where it divided, one branch continuing along the lowland to Cahokia, and the other along the top of the bluffs to the same village. From these villages, trails led in many directions. The canoes used by the inhabitants were made of the bark of trees,[46] birch being preferred; for the longer boats, trunks of trees were dug out or burned by slow fire. Great care had to be taken in all cases to see that the wood was perfect, for a boat which leaked was a great annoyance. Besides races, on a warm summer evening, the rivers and lakes along the settlements were filled with canoes in which young men and women enjoyed each other's company.

Nowhere can one find a lovelier picture of hardy frontier folk whose livelihood depended upon the waterways, than in those descriptions of the boatmen or *engagés*, who were noted for their songs. As they pulled across the placid waters of lake and river, labor was lessened by the chorus of voices that kept time to the strokes of oar and of paddle.

> Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
> Our voices keep time, and our oars keep time,
> Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,
> We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn,
> Row, brothers, row! the stream runs fast,
> The rapids are near, and the daylight's past.[47]

Thus one might hear a hundred voices, rising and falling in unison, as the boatmen passed over the waters of the Old Northwest.[48]

[46] Henry, *op. cit.*, 14, gives a good description of a canoe. Other accounts may be found in Wayne Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XIV, no. 3, Urbana, 1928), 151; and Frederick J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1889* (Madison, 1889), 78-80.

[47] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII: 327.

[48] Other songs may be found in *ibid.*, I: 366-67; Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, The "Early Day" in the North-West* (Chicago, 1932), 47-49; Bela Hubbard, *Memorials of A Half-Century* (New York, 1888), 152-54; D. B. Martin, "The Fox River Valley in the Days of the Fur Trade," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1899* (Madison, 1900), 122-23.

These *engagés* were picturesque, dressed in "gaudy turbans, or hats adorned with plumes and tinsel, their brilliant handkerchiefs tied sailor-fashion about swarthy necks, their calico shirts, and their flaming worsted belts" which circled their waists, holding their knives and tobacco pouches. Rough trousers, leggings, and cowhide shoes or gay moccasins completed their outfits.[49] Whenever a burial cross appeared, or a stream was left or entered, these rough "sons of the woods" removed their hats, and made the sign of the cross while one of their number uttered a short prayer; and again they were off, their paddles beating time to a rollicking French song:

Dans mon chemin, j'ai rencontré
Trois cavalières, bien montées;
L'on, lon, laridon daine,
Lon, ton, laridon dai,

Trois cavalières, bien montées,
L'un à cheval, et l'autre à pied;
L'on, lon, laridon daine
Lon, ton, laridon dai.[50]

In all social life, French characteristics predominated, even throughout the British régime. During the summer evenings, though they were given much to drinking and gambling,[51] the dance was the favorite amusement, and to this frolic came the men and matrons, young men and maidens; even the parish priest graced these festive occasions. The careless, pleasure-loving *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs*, returning to the settlements, gave added color

[49] Turner, *ibid.*, *1889*, pp. 77-78.

[50] *Ibid.*, 80.

[51] Cards were played incessantly, not always for money. To prevent abuses and disorders caused by "red or black slaves," Clark provided that they should take "their recreation in dancing on Sundays and feast days . . . during the daytime" and then only when they had a permit "signed by their masters." Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 65-66.

to these celebrations, at which all danced until the early morning hours or even daybreak, with little appearance of rowdyism or vulgarity to mar their simple festivities. The Sunday evening dance was particularly popular, attended by all—young and old, rich and poor. Every description which the records have furnished us of these festive occasions mentions the good behavior and fellowship that existed. Everyone joined happily in the church festivities, of which there were many—possibly too many for the good of the farmers; at least so some complained. In Illinois, the Mardi Gras was very popular; the evening was passed at one of the large homes, where the main contest was the flapping of pancakes, after which there was dancing. The charivari which followed most of the weddings of the day was also good fun, for it had not degenerated into the vulgar exhibition of more recent days. There were no age restrictions at these parties. Alexander Grant, Commodore of the Royal Navy on the Upper Lakes, wrote to his friend, John Askin: "We hop and bob every Monday night at the Council House."[52] Later, at the age of seventy-one, he felt himself growing quite hearty again: "Danced fifteen couple down the other night," he wrote.[53] By this time, in addition to his strenuous life on the frontier, the Commodore had reared a family of twelve children (eleven of them were girls). His home, known as the Grant Castle, was always the scene of much gay life and hilarity.[54]

[52] *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III: 27.

[53] Grant to Askin, December 19, 1805, *Askin Papers*, II: 498.

[54] M. M. Quaife, *Detroit Biographies: Commodore Alexander Grant* (*Burton Hist. Col. Leaflet*, VI, no. 5, Detroit, 1928), 76. "We have endeavoured to make the Winter pass as agreeably as we could, by having a Dance every week," wrote Askin to Grant, April 28, 1778, *Askin Papers*, I: 77. Also Askin to Charles Patterson, June 17, 1778, *ibid.*, 135. This seemed to be general. Richard Cartwright wrote: "I am glad you are so gaily and agreeably amused at Detroit, and tho we cannot pretend to vie with you

One of the outstanding characteristics of frontier society was its openhanded hospitality. Isolation from the outside world caused the people to welcome visitors, even total strangers, to their homes. Traveler after traveler testified to this trait, nowhere better pictured than in the warm reception and parties given Sir William Johnson when he visited Detroit in 1761.[55]

It was a glorious September day when Sir William arrived. "Acutely aware that he appeared better on a horse than off," Johnson sent George Croghan ahead to procure mounts. A few miles below the settlement he met his deputy and mounted for his entry. The Indian villagers ran out to salute him; in reply he had the Royal Americans return three volleys from their boats. The naïve delight of this great man in the warmth of his reception in the heart of New France is evident in these lines of his diary:

> All along the road was met by Indians, and near the town, by the inhabitants, traders, &c. When I came to the verge of the fort, the cannon thereof were fired, and the officers of the garrison with those of Gage's Light Infantry received me, and brought me to see my quarters, which is the house of the late commandant Mr. Belestre, the best in the place.

in Brilliancy yet we have our little Entertainments for which we are entirely beholden to the Gentlemen of the Garrison. We drink tea at the Fort every Saturday Evening, after that have a Concert, and then dance till about 12 o'clock, when we go to Supper." Cartwright to Edgar, February 17, 1780, Edgar MSS. In the early part of 1780 the following dancing bills were paid by:

Major de Peyster	£ 14/9/11
Captain Britton of the Navy	12/12/7
Captain Grant of the Navy	14/9/1
Captain Burnet	14/9/1
Mr. Forsythe	20/12/7

See Macomb Account Books in Burton Library. In 1780, the dancing bills amounted to £ 566/6/2. *Ibid.* The records also mention "Country Dance Books," and fiddles. *Askin Papers*, I: 79, 87, 142; Henry Hay's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1914*, p. 214 ff. The amount of liquors consumed at these parties was startling. See especially, Charles I. Walker, "The Northwest during the Revolution," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III: 27.

[55] "Private Manuscript Diary, kept by Sir William Johnson, on his Journey to and from Detroit, 1761," W. L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart* Albany, 1865), II: 457.

His time, when he was not in Indian Council, was spent in wining and dining, almost as feverishly as in modern Detroit. Sir William greatly enjoyed the sustained sociability, for he was never happier than when reveling in the table talk of men and the tea talk of ladies. Let Sir William tell of these delights:

Sunday [September] 6*th*.—A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball, that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night, to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie —a fine girl. We danced until five o'clock next morning. . . .

Saturday 12*th*. . . . This morning four of the principal ladies of the town came to wait on me. I treated them with rusk and cordial. After sitting an hour, they went away. . . .

Sunday 13*th*.—Very fine weather At 10 o'clock, Captain Campbell came to introduce some of the town ladies to me at my quarters, whom I received and treated with cakes, wine and cordial. Dined at Campbell's. . . .

Monday, 14*th*.—Fine weather. This day I am to have all the principal inhabitants to dine with me; . . . I took a ride before dinner up toward the Lake St. Clair. The road runs along the river side, which is all thickly settled nine miles. . . . The French gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball to-morrow night, which I am to give to the ladies.

Here again he met the beautiful young lady, evidently by appointment, for he wrote:

Tuesday, 15*th*.—Fine weather. This day settled all accounts. . . . In the evening, the ladies and the gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until 7 o'clock in the morning, when all parted very much pleased and happy. [I] promised to write Mademoiselle Curie as soon as possible my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before.[56]

Mademoiselle appeared no more in the diary. Might one raise the query whether this short-lived gaiety, with folk of his own kind, seriously tempted Sir William to

[56] *Ibid.*, 457, 459, 461-63.

marry a woman of his own class? We cannot answer; we only know of the "polite flutings of an elderly gallant a long way from home and enjoying what must, after all, be considered a butterfly flight in the fading sunlight." At least it was a strenuous life. But it would have been far more strenuous if his wife (his housekeeper, he called her), Molly Brant, had known of his doings at Detroit. It was well for her peace of mind, and possibly also well for Sir William's personal safety, that she was kept in ignorance, for there is little doubt that Molly's influence was very great with the Indians, and she was devoted to Sir William.[57]

The hospitality continued even through the departure. On September 17, Sir William went downstream to a village of the Hurons, where he visited the priest. When the officers from the fort arrived, he treated them and the Indians, and was carried in a chair to Captain Jarvis' for breakfast; the good captain had three of these luxurious conveyances to prove the leadership of Detroit in transportation. "Officers prancing on horseback, Sir William and Captain and Mrs. Jarvis carried in their sedan chairs," the party went through three merry miles, stopping here and there to bid adieu to various citizens, who no doubt entertained them with the best their conditions afforded. "Dined with the company out of doors. Parted [from] them all at this place," he wrote. Probably there were "adieus, good-bys, God-speeds, much fluttering of handkerchiefs, perhaps a furtive tear. After all, it had been a spendid visit, both in solid accomplishment and the hospitality offered by a cultivated French society, the more remarkable be-

[57] Molly was Joseph Brant's sister, and she possessed great influence among the Six Nations, especially the Senecas. *Ibid.*, 382, 503.

cause of the leagues of wilderness which hemmed it round."[58]

Another charming picture of life on the frontier is given by Henry Hay who, as a young fur trader, visited the post of Miamitown (now the teeming city of Fort Wayne, Indiana) during the winter of 1790.[59] Hay spoke particularly of the hospitality of these simple folk. He related that he had only been at the post a few days, when a Mrs. Adhamer manifested her politeness and attention by begging him to send his clothes and linen to her home for her Pani slave to launder, as it was most difficult to get clothes washed in such an out-of-the-way place.

From his journal one might gather the impression that life was all play, feasts, and dances, for all kinds of ceremonies followed each other in almost kaleidoscopic succession. The ringing of three cowbells by three boys running through the village "making as much noise as twenty cows would" called the settlers to midnight mass, and also to morning and evening prayers on Sunday. Musicians played their instruments on all occasions—drinking bout, dance or mass—and sometimes went "reeling from the one to the other." On one occasion, a joke was played on Mrs. Adhamer by stealing her pig, which was her "only support when the fresh meat" was killed; and the journalist added: "What hurt her more was, that she intended to kill it tomorrow." The excuse given for this fun was that she was a woman who was "amasingly fond of playing her jokes upon other people; . . . for which they were fully determined to play

[58] *Ibid.*, 464-65; Arthur Pound and Richard E. Day, *Johnson of the Mohawks* (New York, 1930), 341-42.

[59] *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1914*, pp. 214-61.

her this one, which we premeditated upwards of three weeks ago."

Temperance reform or an age of sobriety certainly had not made any appearance at the forks of the Maumee. On Christmas night, Hay and his companions became "infernally drunk;" so far gone were they that one of the traders gave our journalist "his daughter Betsy over the bottle." The next morning, they found themselves "damnation sick" and unable to eat any breakfast. Nevertheless, they "went to mass and played as usual," first partaking of a cup of coffee to settle their heads. This did not keep them sober long, for the following evening all except the author became "very drunk;" one, being too drunk to leave, had to stay at the home of his host all night. The very next evening, the celebrants were "damned drunk" and the writer added that upon visiting some ladies the following morning he found his companions there imbibing again, but he refused their invitations to partake "at so unseasonable an hour as 11 o'clock in the morning;" however, he promised to join them in the afternoon.[60] On New Year's day, he made the rounds of the "Principal families" kissing all the "Ladies young and Old."[61] The gay French spirit is evident in many places in the diary. On one occasion, after a flood, the ladies were "taken for a row on the river to the accompaniment of fiddle and flute," even before the high waters had sub-

[60] These people indulged in heavy drinking, as did all pioneer communities and contemporary society in general. When the *voyageurs* returned, there was much drinking and merrymaking, mingled with some lawlessness, for these men were noted as the most reckless class of the communities. In Kaskaskia in 1779, Jean Girault protested to the magistrates that some of the inhabitants became so drunk that they discharged their guns and endangered the lives and property of the citizens. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 112.

[61] Calls were generally made on New Year's day, when it was customary for the hostess to present her cheek to the departing guests for a goodbye kiss.

sided.[62]

Alexander Fraser got a similar impression of frontier life. He wrote that the French folk of Illinois had a passion for drunkenness and were "for the greatest part drunk every day while they can get Drink to buy in the Colony." He further stated that the negroes were obliged to "Labour very hard to Support their Masters in their extravagant Debaucheries."[63]

One does not find the same hospitality manifested toward the close of the century. The incoming horde of Americans was regarded by the old French stock much as the cultivated Romans regarded the invading Germanic barbarians. Thomas Bentley found life particularly difficult at Kaskaskia. He addressed a letter to his enemies on September 5, 1780, in which he stated:

> I know that most of you are mortified to see me struggling to overcome the difficulties which you yourselves, conjointly with that rascal Rocheblave, Cerré, and others, have brought upon me. I am persuaded that there are not ten amongst you in this village who would not like to see me crushed under the load of my misfortunes. I know that it is a crime for a damned Englishman to attempt to stay among you; Irishmen suit you better; they are equal to you in perfidy; as for lying, flattering, and drinking tafia, they can do it as well as any of you.[64]

Again this situation is well illustrated by a letter which Frederick Bates, a young Virginian (and neighbor and friend of Thomas Jefferson), who had recently come to Detroit to seek his fortune, wrote to his sister. Bates may be regarded as a fair representative of the Virginia planter aristocracy of the time, and both in Detroit and

[62] *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1914*, p. 208 ff. Oliver Spencer had similar experiences when a captive of the Indians in 1792. He wrote of the pleasure he had in Detroit. M. M. Quaife, *An Indian Captive's Picture of Early Detroit* (*Burton Hist. Col. Leaflet*, III, no. 5, Detroit, 1925), 69.

[63] Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 228.

[64] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 203.

in St. Louis (to which place he removed) he held numerous important public offices. At the time of writing this letter, Bates was twenty-two years of age, and a comparatively recent arrival at Detroit. He wrote:

I make but little progress with the french girls. They are not very apt to think favorably of the Americans. They think them a rough unpolished, brutal set of people. The pleasure of walking on a sunday evening, is almost counter-balanced by the trouble attendant on that parade & ceremony with which the salutations of the French must be returned. The Miss Grants daughters of the Commodore of the British Squadron on the upper Lakes, are the finest girls in this country. Their mother is a Canadian and they are Roman Catholics. Last Christmas I went early to the midnight mass, and seated myself in their Pew. They came, and with the most obliging good nature, requested me to make room,—I rose—apologized for my intrusion—& seated myself in the Pew next to them, Determined to be diverted at my expence, they beckoned to me as many as three times to move, as I was in the seat of a lady who was coming in. After mass, I remonstrated with them on their cruelty in taking such pleasure in my embarrasment. They thought it a cruelty, which they might very innocently exercise. Their father altho' in the British service lives on this side the Strait, on one of the best Farms in the Country. Their mother (which is a singular circumstance among French Ladies) superintends the farm, the produce of which, supports the Family very decently. The old Gentleman's salaries as Commodore and privy Counsellor, are funded, as portions for the girls.[65]

Even an election day was a holiday for old and young, voter and voteless. They were occasions "to meet, to smoke to carouse and swagger," though the records leave one in doubt as to whether they ended in drunken brawls. A leading candidate for the provincial legislature of Upper Canada, in the election of 1792, was David W. Smith of Detroit, who has left considerable corre

[65] Quoted in M. M. Quaife, *Detroit Biographies: Commodore Alexander Grant* (*Burton Hist. Col. Leaflet*, VI, no. 5, Detroit, 1928), 77. Bates was in Detroit at the close of the century.

spondence concerning this campaign.[66]

Perusal of these records leaves no doubt that neither human nature nor the methods of politicians have altered materially since 1792. Smith was willing to spend money freely, although even as with candidates today, there could be no hope of ever securing its return unless by indirect means. The inducements to the voters took the form of free tavern entertainment, accompanied by lavish dispensing of liquors. "Should I be returned without an undue Election or the appearance of party or bribery, I shall be most happy," wrote Smith on July 26, "& in that case I beg an Ox may be roasted whole on the common, & a barrel of Rum be given to the mob, to work down the Beef."

With the passage of time, the candidate's ideas concerning entertainment of the voters became more expansive, and in a letter to John Askin on August 14, he presented this captivating picture:

> The french people can easily walk to the Hustings, but my gentry will require some conveyance; if boats are necessary you can hire them, & they must not want beef or Rum, let them have plenty, and in case of success I leave it to you, which you think will be best to give my friends a public dinner, & the ladies a dance, either now, or when I go up. If you think the moment the best time You will throw open Forsyths Tavern, & call for the best he can supply. I trust you will feel very young on the occasion, in the dance, & I wish that Leith and you should push about the bottle, to the promotion of the Settlements on the Detroit. The more broken heads & bloody noses there is the more election like, and in case of Success (damn that if!) let the White Ribbon favors be plentifully distributed, to the old, the Young, the Gay, the lame, the cripple & the blind—half a score cord of wood piled hollow, with a tar barrel in the middle, on the

[66] For the information which follows, I have drawn upon M. M. Quaife's excellent article, *Detroit's First Election* (*Burton Hist. Col. Leaflet*, V, no. 2, Detroit, 1926). Elections in Illinois were held largely for members of the court and therefore there was not the same energetic electioneering as occurred in Detroit for members of the provincial legislature.

Common, some powder, pour tirer, & plenty of Rum. I am sure that you will preside over & do ev[er]ything that is needful, as far as my circumstances will admit. there must be no want & I am sure you will have ev[er]ything handsome & plentiful.

Elliot I am sure will give you a large red flag to be hoisted on a pole near the Bon fire, and some blue colored tape may be sewn on in large letters E S S E X Have proper booths erected for my friends at the Hustings, employ Forsyth to make large plumb Cake, with plenty of fruit & ca & be sure let the Wine be good & plenty. Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage & Beef.[67]

It would be easy to add numerous descriptions of the many other sports which tempt one to linger, but one can only mention other phases of social activity which more than filled the hours of leisure. Running, wrestling, rowing, bowling on the narrow streets, arrow shooting, quoits, and especially card playing during inclement weather, are only a few of the many ways in which the inhabitants of the Old Northwest enjoyed life to the fullest.

So happy and carefree was life in the western wilderness that those who moved elsewhere were inclined to yearn for the pleasures of the posts. "I cannot but repeat again our Inclinations and wishes are to be with you. . . . [My wife's][68] mind is occupied with reflections of the many happy hours passed at Detroit, it is to be hoped that sometime or another we shall have a renewal of the like pleasures," wrote Lieutenant Mercer to John Askin.[69] De Peyster was most happy during his stay in Michigan. "A sore heart it gave us to leave Detroit,"

[67] Smith to Askin, August 14, 1792, *Askin Papers*, I: 427-28.

[68] Refers to Phyllis Barthe, wife of Lieut. Daniel Mercer.

[69] Mercer to Askin, Reading (in Berkshire) April 29, 1790, *ibid.*, I: 365. Askin's daughter, Madelaine, wrote her father she was sure that she would not have as pleasant a winter at Queenstown as she had had at Springwells, "but I may have the pleasure of talking about them with the ladies of the 5th. I assure you they regret leaving Detroit." Madelaine Askin to John Askin, October 15, 1792, *ibid.*, 441. From Plymouth, England, John Burnet wrote Askin of his "many happy days" at Detroit. Burnet to Askin, March 6, 1787, *ibid.*, 283.

he informed a friend, "had we but some of our relations there, I could have spent my life in its little society."[70] Richard Cartwright, Jr.,[71] described the people of Detroit as "gaily and agreeably amused" and admitted that the social life at Niagara could not pretend to vie with Detroit in its brilliancy.[72]

Not long after the War of Independence with its ravages, and the continued uncertainty which prevailed concerning trade at the western posts, social life lost much of its thrill and charm. In Illinois there was a period of anarchy and confusion which began before the close of the war and continued for some years.[73] Tyranny followed tyranny, bringing disorder and chaos. John Edgar, who used his influence to promote peace, wrote to Major John Hamtramck in September, 1789:

> The name of an American among them [the Indians] is a disgrace, because we have no superior. Our horses, horned cattle, & corn are stolen & destroyed without the power of making any effectual resistance: Our houses are in ruin & decay; our lands are uncultivated; debtors absconded & absconding; our little commerce destroyed. We are apprehensive of a dearth of corn, and our best prospects are misery and distress, or what is more than probable an untimely death by the hands of savages.[74]

Father Gibault at Vincennes well summed up conditions when he said: "In Canada all is civilized, here all is barbarous. You are in the midst of justice, here injustice dominates. . . . Everybody is in poverty, which engenders theft and rapine. Wantonness and drunkenness pass here as elegance and amusements quite in style."[75] Some

[70] De Peyster to Edgar, July 7, 1784, Edgar MSS.

[71] See *Askin Papers*, I: 188 for sketch.

[72] Cartwright, Jr. to Edgar, February 17, 1780, Edgar MSS.

[73] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, chaps. XVI-XX.

[74] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 510. Other letters describing conditions are in *ibid.*, 511, 513-14.

[75] Gibault to the Bishop of Quebec, June 6, 1786, *ibid.*, 542-43. See also *ibid.*, 199, 234, 315, 362, 454. The people also suffered from the hands of the military. *Ibid.*, 137.

found the winters long and tedious, and hoped to move away.[76] "This place once the gaiest and most sociable known has undergone surprising changes," wrote Anthon[77] to Edgar. "Numbers of people ruined," he continued, "old Acquaintances Dead and gone, a gloomy Aspect in all most every ones face, great demands and small remittances, seizures and Executions in Abundance, and I am afraid a Universal Bankruptcy will ensue among the Trading people here."[78] These conditions did not last long, however. The depression was temporary, and soon life was as gay and brilliant as ever, and continued so to the close of the British régime.[79]

One is inclined to dwell longer and in much greater detail upon the social activities of these past romantic days. Life in the harsh conditions[80] of the wilderness, when intercourse with the outside world was so uncertain, was not one of seclusion, or of toil only, but was

[76] George Anthon to Edgar, September 26, 1785, Edgar MSS.

[77] See *Askin Papers*, I: 48 for sketch.

[78] Anthon to Edgar, September 26, 1785, Edgar MSS. He mentioned Detroit people who put money in the Bank of North America as "broke and undone."

[79] Donald Campbell wrote: "For my own part I am heartily tired of Detroit, tho' the best frontier Garrison I begin to know the People too well, I do not think they improve on a long acquaintance." Campbell to Bouquet, July 3, 1762, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIX: 154. Another comment: "You talk of your place [Detroit] being duller than ever. &c. believe me it cannot be put in competition with ours [Michillimackinac] for dulness jealousy & envy with all the etceteras mentioned in your's. Where Society is thin, I agree with you, They should make the most of it." Duggan to Selby, June 3, 1796, *ibid.*, XII: 211.

[80] Life was hard and there was much unhealthiness, especially along the Mississippi lowlands. George Morgan claimed that no French native of Illinois was known to have lived "to an old Age." Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 439. The soldiers suffered considerably from lack of medical supplies, etc. See especially the letter of Maj. John Hamtramck to Gen. Josiah Harmar, July 29, 1789. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 506. Then there was a period of great disorder and confusion in Illinois following the war. John Edgar wrote to Major Hamtramck, October 28, 1789: "An attempt has been made to steal my property & slaves, & the life of my wife, as well as that [of] Mrs. Jones was in the most imminent danger

"Every day we are threatened with being murdered, & having our houses & village burnt; the Pianakeshaws steal our horses, & take them to the Spanish side, where they live, & where we dare not, even allowing we had sufficient force, follow them; so that truly speaking, our situation is desperate & even pitiful." *Ibid.*, 513. A short but excellent account of the disorder and confusion in Illinois is in Robert L .Schuyler, *The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government* (New York, 1909), 87-111.

interspersed with all the hilarity and joymaking that could be obtained in such a situation. Human nature was far from being suppressed, and the picture left is one of charm and gaiety, often of passion unrestrained. Those were happy days. It was a simple life with simple pleasures, possibly a life which cannot be found in the tumult and shouting of this ultra modern age.

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1852-1868

BY HARRY EVJEN

IN 1852 a group of enterprising, public-spirited citizens of Springfield, Illinois, witnessed the consummation of an ambitious project—the establishment of a Lutheran college in their community. Satisfied as to the need for such an institution, and envisaging a grand future for it, these citizens, led by John T. Stuart, James C. Conkling, Thomas Lewis, S. W. Harkey, and others, convinced the Board of Trustees of Hillsboro College at Hillsboro, Illinois, that the transfer of that institution to the capital city of Illinois would assure the school not only permanency, but also adequate financial support. The trustees willingly agreed to the wisdom of such a move, although Hillsboro College was then free from debt and in possession of a building valued at $6,000. As a further inducement to the board, the civic-minded people of Springfield subscribed the sum of $37,000, which was to be used for a building and for student scholarships. The Board of Trustees of Hillsboro College quickly concurred. The College was moved to Springfield; a new and more liberal charter was obtained from the state legislature; and the name of the school was changed to a more impressive and auspicious title, that of Illinois State University. Indeed, not only was the name consistent with the ardent hopes of the

school's patrons, but with the charter as well. For the founders of this new school inserted in the charter of the University a provision which authorized the trustees "to establish separate departments . . . besides the usual departments of Theology, Medicine and Law, a department of Mechanical Philosophy, and also of Agriculture."

The opening of the school was heralded with prophetic pronouncements and enthusiasm. John T. Stuart, famous as Lincoln's first law partner, was a leading figure in the school's history. He voiced his sentiments in a letter to the agent of the institution, S. W. Harkey, stating: "No institution in the West, within my knowledge, has commenced with so much means, to say nothing of the good wishes and united sentiment of the wealthy community in whose midst it will be planted."

But anticipation far exceeded realization. The school, in its sixteen years of existence, was compelled to run the gauntlet of doctrinal controversy and financial despair which proved too exacting for its continuance. In fact, its obituary is a story of struggle and failure. From its very beginning in 1846 in Hillsboro, until its demise in Springfield in 1868, the school was continually beset with misfortune and misunderstanding. The social and economic forces of the turbulent 1850's played no favorites with it, often encompassing the institution in their rift-creating grips. Nativism, the issue of the Know-nothing party, secured a tenacious hold on the American-born students, creating much agitation and dissension with the many immigrant students and culminating in the mass withdrawal of the latter. Religious liberalism, so often the cause of discontent, was, throughout the school's history, a vexing issue. The Panic of 1857

left its scars. Slavery agitation and debate became the cause of much heated controversy. Educational progress, leading to the establishment of the free-school system in Illinois, found a sterling champion in the administration and faculty of this short-lived University.

Posterity is reluctant to recognize the contributions of an admitted failure; yet a study of the records of Illinois State University compels one to acknowledge the decided influence which it had on the educational and moral development of Illinois. Although the school was operated under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, its founders did not intend to have it sectarian in character, with the exception of the Theological Department; they wanted the institution conducted upon the broad principles of common Protestant Christianity. Incidentally, the name Hillsboro College was somewhat of a misnomer for its original charter properly styled the school as "the Literary and Theological Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Far West." Admittedly the school was made a martyr to the cause of educational progress by the overzealousness of its founders, who permitted their enthusiasm and faith in fellowmen to presage greater things than common sense warranted; yet the prospects of realizing these hopes were extremely encouraging in the early period of the school's history. The increasing demand for a free public school system was soon to be satisfied, thus creating a need for college-trained teachers; leading men of Illinois, such as Shelby Cullom, John T. Stuart, and James C. Conkling, willingly accepted membership on the Board of Trustees; boys of the most prominent families of the vicinity enrolled in the school; at once immigrant students, particularly

from Germany and the Scandinavian countries, flocked to its halls of learning; and many of the school's supporters—in fact the majority—were non-Lutherans, permitting much anticipation of added support from the many thousands of Lutherans just coming into the region.

A study of the prominent personalities affiliated with this institution not only reveals a number of interesting historical contributions, but also merits the conclusion that some degree of influence must have been exercised by the school over these same individuals, the extent of which, of course, is a matter of conjecture. Thus, a study of personalities is the purpose of the remainder of this article.

The most prominent individual with whom this school claimed association was Abraham Lincoln. On June 28, 1860, he was elected a member of the Board of Trustees. The minutes of the board read as follows: "Abraham Lincoln was elected for a term of one year to fill the unexpired term of Rev. R. Dodge." This fact has generally been overlooked by Lincoln biographers. Notice of his election was carried in the *Illinois State Journal*[1] the following week. His name is listed among the Trustees of Illinois State University in the *Springfield Directory* for 1860-1861.[2] It is easy to understand why Lincoln was elected a board member, now that he had become a national figure, and had so many close friends on the board; but one is tempted to conjecture as to why he, a prominent citizen, was not elected sooner. Is it possible that Lincoln's religious principles and attitude, so often the target of Lincoln iconoclasts, may have been

[1] *Illinois State Journal*, July 3, 1860.

[2] C. S. Williams, *Williams' Springfield Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror, for 1860-61* (Springfield, 1860), 39.

the reason? Yet it is significant to note that nineteen clergymen, nine of whom were board members, attended the session of the board at which Lincoln was elected. The other ten were advisory members, having been admitted for that session to aid in reaching a solution of a serious controversy raging between the Scandinavian Augustana Synod and the school, over the resignation of Lars Esbjorn, the professor of Scandinavian languages. Obviously, Lincoln's religious scruples, real or alleged, were satisfactory to these pioneer ministers. In 1861, the board elected E. B. Hawley to succeed Lincoln.

In order to secure financial support for the University, the trustees had authorized, in 1852, the sale of perpetual scholarships for the sum of $300. The owner of a scholarship enjoyed the permanent privilege of sending one student to college without further charge of tuition. If the owner did not wish to pay the principal of the scholarship, he could enjoy the same privilege providing he paid the interest amounting to six per cent each year. The latter plan was used by Lincoln to send his son, Robert Todd, to this new school. The college ledger reveals that Lincoln purchased on October 1, 1852, the scholarship of P. C. Canedy, a Springfield druggist. The payments of interest were prompt and complete, continuing until April 27, 1860.

If all the owners of the scholarships, indeed if only half of them, had been as prompt in payment as Lincoln was, the school would have had a much longer life. For it remains on record that many of Springfield's civic-minded citizens never did fulfill their financial obligations to Illinois State University.

It is interesting to note that the University registrar recorded the name of Lincoln, under the caption of "Re-

sponsible Persons" as plain "A. Lincoln." Not until 1858 was the title of "Hon." added to his name—a recognition which had been extended before to many of lesser note. When Robert Todd Lincoln left Illinois State University, after four years of schooling, to enter Phillips Academy in the East, his father permitted the scholarship to be used for the following year of 1860 by Lincoln Dubois, the son of Jesse K. Dubois. The cost per year for maintaining the scholarship amounted to $19.50, a dollar and a half being charged as an incidental fee.

The social life of the school was centered largely in the literary societies which had been founded at Hillsboro College and were continued in Springfield. Each Friday afternoon, these societies would meet in their respective halls to engage in literary discussion and criticism. The minutes of these organizations reveal an intense rivalry between them. Especially was this true in the efforts of each group to secure outstanding honorary members. Letters of notification were sent to hundreds of prominent men throughout the country and to some abroad. Each society made a special effort to inform the other of the acceptance of honorary membership by some prominent person. It is really surprising to discover how many outstanding people actually accepted membership in these two student groups. One corresponding secretary's book reveals that such men as James Buchanan, Cyrus Fields, Sam Houston, Franklin Pierce, William Cullen Bryant, Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckinridge, Gen. George B. McClellan, Horace Mann, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, Anson Burlingame, Stephen A. Douglas, Horace Greeley, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and many others became members. John Jacob Astor took

pains to decline membership in the Utilior when it was at Hillsboro.

The custom of electing honorary members was not done wholly for the sake of pride and honor, for often these men who accepted membership made many valuable contributions, such as books, antiques, pictures and money to their groups. Occasionally the corresponding secretary would send out appeals to the honorary members for financial help. Such purposes are evidenced in the resolution offered by the Utilior Society upon the death of Stephen A. Douglas, who, by his brilliant oratory and prominence, had been an idol of the Illinois State University students. The resolution stated: "We as a literary society of which he [Douglas] was an honorary member have sustained in him the loss of one who manifested so great a desire for the improvement of the association by frequently contributing to our library."

The death of Douglas so increased the admiration for him that the members of the Utilior Society went as far as to prepare a debate on the subject, "Is Abraham Lincoln a greater man than Stephen A. Douglas?" Fortunately, much controversy on this difficult question was averted when the society wisely decided at its next meeting to table the question, substituting a more momentous one which was entitled, "Had the South any cause for seceding from the Union?" Incidentally, the affirmative emerged the victor on this latter proposition.

A close scrutiny of the honorary list establishes the fact that the majority of these members were actively engaged in politics—an excellent reason for affiliating themselves with the society. Almost every outstanding man in Springfield, including several members of the legislature, belonged to one or the other of the two

groups. It was not only expedient but wise. But the one man who proved to be uncatchable was Abraham Lincoln. Twice he was elected to membership in the Philomathean Society, the one to which his son belonged; yet he refused to consider membership, although his name was left on the rolls until 1858 when the corresponding secretary crossed it out.

One must admit that these students displayed a remarkable degree of intelligence and capacity. The minutes, with the exception of a few errors in spelling, were written in an excellent style. The subjects for discussion ranged from deep philosophical problems to the political issues of the day. Repercussions of the campaign of 1860 and the Civil War are apparent throughout. The partisan students of the Utilior showed their enmity to John C. Breckinridge by expelling him from membership in their society, and the corresponding secretary made certain that the future should know the reason by writing above the name of Breckinridge the accusing word "traitor." Not to be outdone, the Philomathean Society quickly retorted by expelling from its membership, Jefferson Davis. Similar treatment was accorded to Senators James Hammond of South Carolina and Henry Wise of Virginia.

The death of Lincoln profoundly affected the student body of the school. The Utilior immediately passed a resolution stating: "In this death we deeply realize the fact that 'when a great man falls, the nation mourns;' and that although he was not—as no one is—entirely destitute of imperfections yet he had many good qualities which closely allied him to the interests and hearts of the American people." The members further resolved that the Utilior Hall should be draped in sable insignia

of mourning for a period of sixty days.

Robert Todd Lincoln entered the preparatory department of Illinois State University in the fall of 1854. At that time he was eleven years of age, being one of the youngest of fifty-two fellow students. By attending summer sessions, he was able to enter the freshman class at the age of thirteen, the youngest of seven classmates. Being so young, Robert Lincoln might be regarded as some prodigious youth far ahead of others of his age. Yet his grades, first recorded in his junior year, do not reveal him as such. In that year he received 85 in Greek, 80 in Mathematics, 75 in Chemistry, and 60 in a subject which is not designated, but which probably was Composition and Declamation, a course which every student was required to take. His somewhat hastily scrawled signature was attached, with those of hundreds of other students, to a form of matriculation pledge which read as follows:

> I solemnly promise, on my truth and honor, to observe and obey all laws, rules, and regulations of the Illinois State University, and especially, that I will abstain from the profanation of the Lord's Day, from the use of profane language, from all kinds of gambling, from all indecent behavior, and from disrespectful conduct toward my instructors, and from all combinations to resist their authority.

One may note that nothing was said regarding smoking, which had so often been considered as one of the cardinal sins.

In December, 1856, Robert Lincoln was elected a member of the Philomathean Society. However, in spite of the required participation in debates and declamations, he took little active part in the affairs of the group. On one occasion he was fined for failure to attend meetings. His extreme youthfulness may have

caused him to assume a feeling of inferiority among his older fellow members. Perhaps it was a natural reticence, a lack of interest in any ostentatiousness, a display of that same retiring disposition which marked his later



THE ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY BUILDING

life. Even after he had been elected recording secretary of the group in 1858, he continued to show the same reluctancy to participate in the society's activities. Only two meetings were written up by him; in fact, he failed to attend for the next two months, and then submitted a request for an "honorable dismissal." His request was, in turn, given to a special committee which was to see him, with the hope that he might withdraw

the same. At the next meeting a communication was read from Robert Lincoln, purporting to be a withdrawal of the request; however, he did not attend any more meetings and he received his honorary "dismissal" soon afterward. In the same year he left for the East to enter Phillips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire.

As inauspicious as Robert Lincoln's career was at Illinois State University, in an equal degree was that of John Milton Hay's conspicuous. From the outset, his energetic participation in the activities of the school indicated a future of great promise. Entering Illinois State University in the fall of 1853, he and his older brother, Augustus Leonard, joined the Philomathean Society. Immediately they captured the esteem and admiration of their fellow students, who chuckled long and loud at the ready wit and eloquence of the two brothers. John, in particular, became a shining light. On one occasion he earned the unanimous plaudits of his friends when he delivered a satirical poem of his own composition. Writing to his sister, Ella, he described the school life of Illinois State University in these words:

> We are studying Latin, Greek, Rhetoric and Algebra We are busy every night with our studies, except Sunday and Friday nights. On Friday our Society meets for the purpose of debating, reading original essays, and criticising. I manage to come in as often as possible for speaking, which takes up no time in the week.[3]

His brother, Augustus Leonard, also revealed an interesting page in the school life of students of the University, writing in a letter some thirty years later:

> I wonder if Lincoln ever studied by a "tallow dip" as you and I did at Springfield when Phelps and See argufied on metaphysics, . . .

[3] Tyler Dennett, *John Hay: From Poetry to Politics* (New York, 1933), 19.

while Herodotus, in the original greek, lay waiting and neglected in the corner to reassert himself, and floor us the next morning before the faculty of I. S. U.[4]

In February, 1854, John Hay was elected vice-president of his group. Already his literary ability had won for him the office of first composition critic and censor, a position which he could well fill.

But his intellectual capacities and interests by no means behooved him to look askance at boyish acts and pranks, for we read in the minutes of the Philomathean Society for February, 1855, this amusing comment concerning the society's annual election: "On motion an investigation was made for a spurious ticket; the guilt fell upon the Vice-President, J. M. Hay." Shades of future diplomacy! The future diplomat climaxed this happy college career by losing a debate on a question which he, himself, had selected, namely: "Do the signs of the times indicate the downfall of the Republic?"

But no discussion of the prominent personalities connected with this institution would be complete unless it included the name of Francis Springer, pioneer Lutheran minister and educator, who worked faithfully and unceasingly in a vain endeavor to make Illinois State University a successful undertaking. His commendable and worthy career merits mention elsewhere. In various capacities, as president, trustee, faculty member, and agent, he served this Lutheran school, never failing to voice optimistic and encouraging hopes when it floundered on the rocks of financial despair. He was the first and only president of Hillsboro College, and the first president of Illinois State University. Unfortunately,

[4] *Ibid.*, 16.

his administrative career was marred by internal dissension and criticism.

By 1855, the enthusiastic pronouncements of future greatness which were voiced at the opening of this school had subsided, being supplanted by "hopes for the best." A huge debt had accumulated because of unpaid pledges and scholarships. The state legislature, which the board had hoped would soon distribute to financially embarrassed schools money from the Seminary and College Fund, displayed little intention of doing so. Springer attributed its failure to do this to the "vulgar prejudices which certain politicians foster against collegiate learning under the pretense of very great devotion to common schools."

However, the board and many of the school's friends, desiring to establish a cause for this depressing state of affairs, were inclined to place part of the blame on the shoulders of the Reverend Mr. Springer. There may be some reason for believing that Springer deserved this complaint, for on some occasions—too many in fact—he would seek a solution from God directly in prayer, rather than importune the many friends of the school who clung too tightly to their many shillings. Yet his successors made no better record.

Springer, aware of the criticism directed against him, resigned his position in 1855, but in his resignation to the board, took pains to intimidate a faculty member—evidence points to S. W. Harkey—who, he alleged, was attempting to undermine his authority, and, rather than allow this contest for precedence to continue, he voluntarily vacated the presidency. Further manifestation of a misunderstanding between these two men is contained in a statement made by Springer in which he expressed

doubt of Harkey's veracity. Harkey, who had been one of the prime agitators for moving the school from Hillsboro to Springfield, contended at that time that the eastern churches were averse to helping a school in such a remote place, and that they would render more aid if the school were moved to the capital city of Illinois. Springer wrote: "A doubt has since risen . . . [as] to the truth of Mr. Harkey's statement as it has been ascertained that no one either in the East or West ever gave advice on the subject."

The board accepted Springer's resignation without comment, appointing S. W. Harkey as the president pro tempore. However, the change of administration did not improve the financial status of the school. A building debt of $15,000 existed. Moreover, an additional debt of $3,000 presented itself, having been borrowed from S. W. Harkey who had mortgaged his home in Maryland for that amount. Even the help of the most influential people could do little to relieve the burden. A decrease in enrollment from 160 students in 1854 to 114 in 1856 was cause for alarm. Hoping to alleviate this undesirable situation, the board appointed a permanent president in the person of W. M. Reynolds, a Lutheran clergyman from Pennsylvania. But conditions grew steadily worse. The treasurer's report in 1858 showed that, in addition to the huge building indebtedness, a deficit of $2,682 in professors' salaries confronted the board.

A definite plan for liquidation of these debts was needed. James C. Conkling suggested that professorships be endowed by interested parties. To inaugurate such a plan, he offered to contribute the sum of $1,000 toward a professorship in Natural and Moral Sciences,

providing fourteen others would do the same. Suffice it to say, there was little likelihood of his proposition being realized. Desperate as the situation seemed, persistency and determination surmounted the many obstacles. Meager collections and gifts sustained the school for a while. Occasionally an owner of a scholarship would remember his obligation, but of his type there were few. Even when the board offered to settle with each scholarship owner for fifty dollars in cash, few took advantage of the proposition.

A threat by the board to move the school to another location caused some Springfield citizens to loosen their pockets, but the help was only temporary. John S. Bradford, N. W. Edwards, and Shelby M. Cullom, all board members, attempted to collect from their fellow citizens, but their efforts were futile. Meanwhile S. W. Harkey, who had been relegated to the role of professor of Theology, clamored for payment of the money due him. One cannot blame him, since his house was at stake. Yet one must smile at the settlement which the board gave him and which he accepted. Probably he had no other choice. To satisfy this personal debt, the board executed a chattel mortgage in Harkey's favor, including in it such items as the library of 1,200 volumes, 12 recitation benches, 30 seats, a solar microscope, and an air pump.

A very unfortunate incident occurred in the spring of 1860 when L. P. Esbjorn, professor of Scandinavian Languages, with all the Scandinavian students except two, abruptly left the school. It was a complete surprise to everyone. Confronted later by the faculty, Professor Esbjorn stated that he had resigned because of difficulties between President Reynolds and himself, adding that he had not been at full liberty to give proper re-

ligious advice and supervision to the Scandinavian students. The faculty at once denied the latter charge, but the damage was done. Yet it is evident that other reasons motivated Esbjorn and the students in making their hasty exit. The treatment accorded them by the American-born students had not been the best. It was not uncommon to have some nativistic-minded student bluntly express his sentiments. In the minutes of the societies, one finds such statements as this: "The society then proceeded to missellanious business. Whereupon a few anti-Scandinavian speeches were made."

On another occasion a member of the Utilior made a motion to the effect that no student be permitted to join the group unless he could speak English well enough to be understood by all. Then too, a dissatisfaction with the more liberal members of the Northern Lutheran Synod of Illinois had been expressed by many Swedish brethren. Its climax occurred on June 10, 1860, when the Swedish members withdrew from the Northern Synod, organizing at Clinton, Wisconsin, the Scandinavian Lutheran Augustana Synod.

Needless to say, the action of the Scandinavian group had many detrimental effects on the income and enrollment of the school. A fair response of Springfield citizens in 1861 gave a new lease on life, but all prospects for a new start were drowned in the throes of the Civil War. The situation became very trying. The year 1862 found less than seventy students on hand. President Reynolds relinquished his post in June. Discipline became increasingly hard to administer. Many of the older students took "French leave" to join the army. Often the faculty was unable to cope with the insubordination of some students. David W. Harrower, having refused

to apologize for alleged misconduct, was refused graduation by the board. At the same time, the board passed a resolution stating that an apology was due Professor B. C. Suesserott from a student, Thomas R. Easterday, who, having failed to submit a Latin essay, had acted insolently when asked by Professor Suesserott to present it.

Unless a potent stimulant could be administered to Illinois State University, the end was near. No plan was able to resuscitate this rapidly ebbing institution. Yet, in spite of dampened spirits and small classes, the faculty carried on. Its compensation hardly provided satisfactory subsistence. Ironical it is that posterity has not provided a worthy monument to these little known scholars whose labors helped make our present educational system what it is today.

Meanwhile the public school system of Illinois, which the faculty and board long advocated, became a boomerang; it took from the preparatory department students whose tuition money would have greatly helped the school. In 1865, out of seventy-two students, only seventeen came from Springfield.

By 1867, the institution had become a problem child. Disagreement over the interpretation of doctrinal beliefs of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States threatened to make it an orphan. The dissolution of the Synod of Illinois found Illinois State University in the hands of the Synod of Central Illinois, a newly-formed body which was sympathetic with the General Synod. Attempts were made to liquidate the debts, but nothing resulted. Springfield citizens, whose failure to pay pledges had been the prime factor in creating the indebtedness, were given a last

opportunity to continue the school; but, as was so often the case before, they displayed little inclination to help. In its final session, the board, after much deliberation and debate, decided to lease the school to two Presbyterian gentlemen, the Rev. J. W. Scott, and H. C. Donnell. Meanwhile, a final gesture was made by the board. A delegate was sent to Springfield, Ohio, to meet with the Trustees of Wittenberg College and suggest a union of the seminaries of the two schools; the new school was to be located in Springfield, Illinois, and to be known as the Lutheran Seminary of the West.

The Wittenberg Board showed no favor toward this request, however, and the year 1868 marked the last milestone for the Illinois State University. If it were ill-destined, if it were premature, it deserves much commendation. It was its misfortune to live during a period in which, by the very nature of the times, the growth of a new institution was extremely difficult. The next year, the then portentous building of the University housed a school known as Springfield College, operated for both men and women by the Reverend Mr. Scott and Mr. Donnell.[5] The demise of the Illinois State University was complete!

[5] The building was later purchased by the Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis and that institution was moved to Springfield in 1874 and 1875. Since that time, considerable new equipment has been added.

ILLINOIS IN 1937

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 1.
Gov. Henry Horner and other state officials hold a reception for the people of Illinois at the Executive Mansion in Springfield, between the hours of 3:00 and 6:00 P. M.

JANUARY 7.
The sixtieth Illinois General Assembly convenes. Representative Louie E. Lewis, Christopher, is elected Speaker of the House, and Senator George M. Maypole, Chicago, is chosen President pro tem of the Senate.

Maj. Gen. Abel Davis, veteran of the Spanish-American and World wars, dies at the age of fifty-eight in Glencoe. He wore the Distinguished Service Cross and Distinguished Service Medal. He was an executive of the Chicago Title and Trust Company, lawyer, civic leader and former member of the Illinois Senate.

JANUARY 10.
An ice and sleet storm, which has continued for several days, causes extensive property damage in central Illinois. Transportation facilities are disrupted and power and telephone service are paralyzed in many places. Two hundred men in a mine west of Springfield emerge through an escape tunnel when a power line breaks.

JANUARY 11.
Inaugural ceremonies are held in the new State Armory in Springfield. The following persons take oaths of office: Henry Horner, Governor; John Stelle, Lieutenant Governor; Edward J. Hughes, Secretary of State; Edward J. Barrett, State Auditor; John C. Martin, State Treasurer; and Otto Kerner, Attorney General.

JANUARY 13.
Torrential rains in southern Illinois cause the residents to be apprehensive of floods. The area along the Ohio River between Shawneetown and Cairo appears to be in great danger.

JANUARY 14.
A fourteen-hour downpour in the southern Illinois coal belt halts traffic on many highways; Herrin, Johnson City and Marion are partly cut off. The Wabash River is four feet above flood stage at Mt. Carmel and the Kaskaskia River has flooded land near Vandalia.

JANUARY 15.
Several hundred families in Harrisburg and vicinity are moved out in boats as the flood waters rise.

JANUARY 16.
Floods of the Ohio, Wabash and Kaskaskia rivers force hundreds to leave their homes. The Kaskaskia River breaks through the levee at Vandalia and floods 14,000 acres of farming land.

JANUARY 18.
The Ohio River is above flood stage throughout its entire length of 980 miles; only once before in recorded history—in March, 1936—has this happened.

JANUARY 19.
The Ohio River is about twelve feet over flood level at Shawneetown. People in the lower parts of Metropolis move to higher ground.

JANUARY 20.
The Ohio River continues to rise as more rain falls. The Wabash River threatens the electric light and power plant at Mt. Carmel.

JANUARY 21.
Cairo begins hasty construction of a bulwark on top of the sixty-foot sea wall protecting the city; earth, sand and wood are brought in by train and truck for this purpose. Many people are forced to leave their homes along the Wabash at Maunie. The Ohio River overflows to a depth of eight feet on Front Street in Golconda.

JANUARY 22.
Many of the railroads in the flood area are forced to reroute their trains around this part of the country. Members of the Illinois naval reserves and coastguardsmen leave Chicago, with boats and supplies, for flood duty along the Ohio River.

JANUARY 23.
Shawneetown, a town of 1,200, is being evacuated, many of the people being housed in the high school a few miles away; about four hundred remain in town, making efforts to stop a leak in the sixty-foot sea wall.

JANUARY 24.
About 20,000 people of Illinois have already been made homeless by the floods. Short-wave radio is the sole means of communication to many towns in the flood area. Only one highway into Harrisburg remains open.

Rain and sleet add further damage in the stricken area. Food, clothing and other supplies are sent from northern Illinois. More naval reserve boats and men are rushed in from Chicago; privately owned and park district boats are also sent.

JANUARY 25.

United States Army engineers blast the levees along the Bird's Point–New Madrid, Missouri spillway to lessen the strain against the Cairo sea wall. This fills a 131,000 acre area with water six feet deep, and many buildings and livestock are swept to destruction. The spillway was built after the floods of 1927 to impound the excess water from the Ohio River where it joins the Mississippi. At Cairo, 5,000 women and children have left the city, while the men remain to fortify the sea wall. Shawneetown is practically all under water and the nearby high school is turned into a hospital. At Harrisburg, some seven hundred families are driven from their homes by the sweep of backwater from the Ohio River, normally over twenty miles away. In some parts of the town, the water is twelve feet deep.

JANUARY 26.

A break in the dike at Mound City sends flood waters into the town. Water stands in the business sections of Elizabethtown, Golconda, Rosiclare, Brookport and Metropolis. National Guard and C.C.C. men are on duty in the flood area. Large quantities of blankets, drinking water and food are sent to the stricken people.

JANUARY 27.

At Mound City, a ten-foot setback levee crumbles and water is soon five feet deep in the town; most of the 2,500 inhabitants have already fled.

Oil is struck on the Glenn Merryman farm, a half mile from Patoka, in Marion County.

JANUARY 28.
Cairo completes its three-foot bulwark, eighteen inches thick, on top of the sixty-foot sea wall which protects the city. For a week, 4,000 men have labored at this task; except for these workers, the city is practically evacuated. A lone highway is the only means of egress, as the Illinois Central Railroad is now cut off.

JANUARY 31.
Cairo is practically an island, as the pressure of the Ohio River causes the Cache River to reverse its course and flow into the Mississippi. The Ohio is still rising and constant patrols inspect the levees, watching for breaks.

FEBRUARY 1.
The crisis is reached at Cairo as the water stands at a fifty-nine and a half-foot level; it is just six inches below the top of the sixty-foot sea wall.

FEBRUARY 2.
Tension suddenly increases at Cairo as the Ohio begins a new rise after a fifteen-hour lull. Coast guards keep a constant vigil.

FEBRUARY 3.
Victory for Cairo is in sight as the crest of the Ohio River moves past the city and the danger zone shifts southward.

FEBRUARY 4.
The first flood damage in the city of Cairo occurs with the appearance of sandboils from the Ohio River. Backwater from the Ohio recedes at Harrisburg.

FEBRUARY 7.
Tension in the Illinois flood zone is gone and the work of rehabilitation is started. Col. Robert W. Davis, in charge of the National Guard in the southern Illinois flood area, announces that the flood did $75,000,000 damage in Illinois and estimates that 53,000 people in the state were driven from their homes.

FEBRUARY 12.
The birthday of Abraham Lincoln is observed.

The three per cent utilities sales tax is held unconstitutional by unanimous opinion of the Illinois Supreme Court, on the ground that it exempts sales of gas, water and electricity for industrial use.

FEBRUARY 17.
Two plants of the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation in North Chicago Junction are barricaded from within by some ninety employees who start a sitdown strike because the company has not recognized their union as a bargaining agency.

FEBRUARY 18.
The Fansteel Company secures an injunction calling on the sitdown strikers to evacuate their plants. This is followed by a writ of attachment ordering the sitdowners brought to court to show why they should not be held in contempt for ignoring the injunction.

FEBRUARY 19.
A pitched battle occurs between the strikers in the Fansteel plant and 125 deputy sheriffs and police officers of Lake County. The officers fail to oust the strikers when their supply of tear and nausea gas is exhausted.

FEBRUARY 21.
Dozens of northwestern Illinois cities and towns are hit by floods after heavy rains. Galena estimates its damage at more than $50,000; the Galena River rises from thirteen feet to twenty-seven and fifty-eight hundredths feet in eight hours. Two men drown. At Belvidere, the Kishwaukee River reaches an all-time high mark, and the Rock River reaches a new level at Dixon. Many railroads and virtually all highways in the area are under two to six feet of water.

FEBRUARY 23.
Police and deputies of Lake County, equipped with a twenty-foot siege tower, or "wooden horse," make a surprise attack on the strikers in the Fansteel plant in North Chicago and rout them with tear gas bombs. All who participated in the strike are discharged by the company.

FEBRUARY 26.
Oil is struck on the farm of Gene Weiler, near Clay City, in Clay County.

FEBRUARY 28.
The one hundredth anniversary of the selection of Springfield as the state capital is observed.

MARCH 2.
The sixty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the University of Illinois is celebrated with a parade and a nationwide broadcast sponsored by the Alumni Association.

MARCH 4.
Chicago opens its centennial celebration with the observance of Charter Day. A salute is fired by the Fort

Dearborn cannon, which last boomed in 1837. The celebration will last six months.

MARCH 5.
Several hundred drivers for the Yellow and Checker cab companies in Chicago vote to strike immediately; they are demanding more pay and complete unionization of drivers.

MARCH 6.
Many more drivers join the taxi-drivers' strike in Chicago, and cabs all but disappear from the streets; a few appear in the loop, but these can be hired only for emergency use and have orders not to go outside the loop. Thirty drivers are arrested for acts of violence.

MARCH 7.
Only a few Yellow cabs are left on the streets of Chicago as the taxi-drivers' strike continues; guards are carried both inside and outside the cabs still in operation.

MARCH 11.
The new three per cent utility sales tax bill is signed by the Governor and becomes effective immediately.

MARCH 16.
The Yellow and Checker cab companies in Chicago hire 150 new drivers, as most of the regular drivers are still on strike.

MARCH 17.
Striking taxi-drivers overturn cabs, smash cab windows and slug drivers in the streets of Chicago; passengers are threatened and pulled from the cabs, and hand-to-hand fighting with the police occurs. Twenty-three rioters are arrested.

MARCH 18.
Sen. Louis O. Williams of Clinton, Democratic leader in the state Senate for the last three regular sessions, dies as a result of an automobile accident which occurred the preceding week.

MARCH 24.
One of the nation's worst bus accidents occurs near Salem when a private bus hits a concrete abutment and catches fire. Nineteen are killed and four injured, two of whom die within a few days. The bus was chartered by members of a professional roller-skating troupe.

MARCH 26.
The twenty-one day taxi-drivers' strike in Chicago ends when the Yellow and Checker cab companies agree to recognize the Midwest Taxicab Drivers' Union as a bargaining agency. Final settlement has not yet been reached.

F. L. Maytag, a native of Elgin, dies in Los Angeles at the age of eighty. He was nationally known as a manufacturer of washing machines.

MARCH 28.
Frank C. Mandel, vice-president of Mandel Brothers department store in Chicago, dies at the age of seventy. He was the son of the late Simon Mandel, one of the founders of the store.

MARCH 29.
The National Socialist party, meeting in special convention in Chicago, indorses the C. I. O. and urges its members to support it unanimously. The national executive committee of the party adopts a motion condemning the University of Chicago for taking action against the

students who expressed their sympathies in the General Motors strike.

MARCH 31.
Mrs. Robert Todd Lincoln, daughter-in-law of Abraham Lincoln, dies at the age of ninety in Washington, D. C. As her husband died in 1926, her two daughters and their three children are now the only living descendants of the Civil War president. Her estate is unofficially estimated at over $1,000,000.

APRIL 1.
All the hod-carriers of Stateville penitentiary, sixty-five in number, are in solitary confinement as a result of their strike against alleged overwork.

One hundred thirty coal mines in Illinois, employing 20,000 to 25,000 men, shut down as a part of the nation-wide strike. They are to remain closed until the operators' and miners' representatives, meeting in New York, agree on wage provisions of the new contract.

APRIL 2.
The shutdown in the soft coal industry ends when a compromise wage increase agreement is reached. The miners win $6.00 pay and time and a half for overtime work.

APRIL 6.
A strike at the Caterpillar Tractor Company in East Peoria throws 11,500 men out of work. The men are striking because the company has refused to enter into a written agreement with the C. I. O. recognizing the right of collective bargaining. Some of the men remain inside the plant waging a sitdown strike, while others are picketing outside the plant.

APRIL 8.
Peace reigns at the Caterpillar Tractor Company, where employees are on strike; the company makes no effort to oust the men from the plant. Representatives of both sides are in conference.

APRIL 9.
The strike at the Caterpillar Tractor Company in East Peoria ends and the men go back to work. They will receive the same wages, and work the same hours as before, and will have the right to bargain collectively themselves or through duly authorized representatives.

APRIL 14.
Seventy-second anniversary of Lincoln's assassination in Ford's Theatre in Washington, D. C.

APRIL 15.
Seventy-second anniversary of Lincoln's death. One hundred years ago this week, Lincoln left New Salem to make his home in Springfield.

APRIL 16.
Bank night drawings and other games of chance for the stimulation of business are outlawed by a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court.

APRIL 23.
One hundred twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas.

APRIL 29.
The three per cent sales tax is extended to February 15, 1939. Under the old law, it would have been reduced to two per cent after midnight.

MAY 12.
Louis F. Swift, a prominent leader in the packing busi-

ness for many years, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-five.

MAY 20.
Joseph M. Page, publisher of the *Jersey County Democrat*, and for fifty-two years master in chancery of Jersey County, celebrates his ninety-second birthday. He recently completed publication of the history of his life, a volume entitled, *Reminiscences of Uncle Joe Page*.

Four hundred fifty miners start a sitdown strike 320 feet below the surface of the ground in a coal mine at Wilsonville near Gillespie. They have plenty of food, and entertain themselves with card games, horseshoe pitching, magazines and an orchestra; they send messages back and forth to the surface by telephone and by shaft cages. The strike was called because of the closing of three of the Superior Coal Company's pits, causing several hundred men to be thrown out of work. A company contract provides that men thrown out of work are to be given part time employment after thirty days, the men not out of work reducing their hours. The strikers insist on this shared employment before the end of the thirty day period.

MAY 23.
An oil well is brought in on the Bunyan Travis land near Clay City, flowing 3,000 barrels a day.

MAY 24.
Edward F. Dunne, Governor of Illinois from 1913 to 1917, dies at the age of eighty-three. He had served as circuit judge in Cook County and as mayor of Chicago; at the age of eighty, he completed a three-volume history of Illinois.

MAY 26.

May corn prices go up more than five cents as a rush of buying to fill May contracts occurs. The price reaches $1.40 per bushel, the highest level in seventeen years on the Chicago Board of Trade. There is an acute shortage in grain supplies, especially corn, and the visible supply of the five major grains is now the smallest in about twenty years. Rye is more expensive than wheat for the first time on record.

Five Chicago district steel plants shut down, as employees join other workers in the nation in the biggest steel strike since 1919. The Inland Steel Company, Republic Steel Company and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company—employing a total of about 22,000 men—are the ones affected in the Chicago area. The issue is a demand that the companies sign formal contracts recognizing the C. I. O. steel workers' organizing committee as the union bargaining agency. The police make seventeen arrests, in enforcing the rule against mass picketing, at one of the Republic Steel plants in South Chicago.

MAY 28.

The underground sitdown strike at Wilsonville is ended as the miners come to the surface after a 200 hour sitdown strike. Their demands have not yet been met but negotiations between officials and employees are under way.

Striking steel workers march on the South Chicago mill of the Republic Steel Corporation, where employees have refused to join the strike. Police beat them back and the plant, employing over a thousand men, remains open. Eighteen strikers and six policemen are injured.

MAY 30.
About a thousand strikers from nearby steel plants march on the Republic Steel Corporation plant in South Chicago and make another attempt to force its employees to join the steel workers' strike. They are armed with clubs, bricks, bolts, revolvers and various other objects. A desperate battle occurs when they are met by 150 policemen outside the plant; four people are killed and ninety injured. Four of the latter die within a few days.

JUNE 1.
Paul Farthing of East St. Louis, blind member of the Illinois Supreme Court, becomes chief justice of that tribunal.

JUNE 5.
The Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago is still operating, in spite of strikes in other plants; about twelve hundred workers are being housed in the building, sleeping and eating there.

JUNE 7.
City officials order the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago to cease housing its employees in the building, declaring that this is in violation of the health and building regulations. The company sends twenty-one Pullman cars into the plant to accommodate some of its employees and arranges for others to go back and forth to their homes.

JUNE 16.
The new Archives Building, constructed at a cost of $500,000 on the southwest corner of the State Capitol grounds in Springfield, is dedicated.

JUNE 17.
Dedication of Rutledge Tavern at New Salem State Park takes place. Governor Horner gives the chief address and a pageant in which Ann Rutledge of Ottumwa, Iowa acts, is presented. Miss Rutledge is the great-grandniece of the Ann of Lincoln's day.

JUNE 22.
James J. Braddock loses the heavyweight championship of the world to Joe Louis, colored fighter, at Comiskey Park in Chicago, before a crowd of 55,000 people. Braddock is knocked out in the eighth round.

Frederick B. Snite, Jr., stricken with infantile paralysis while stopping in China on a world cruise fifteen months ago, is brought back to Chicago. Paralyzed from the throat down, he has been kept alive by being placed in an iron lung which breathes for him. His family and a group of doctors and nurses accompanied him on the long trip home.

JULY 1.
The sixtieth Illinois General Assembly adjourns sine die at 1:45 A. M. in a blaze of fireworks. The clocks were stopped at 11:00 P. M. on June 30 so that business could be completed by midnight.

Various new state laws go into effect, among them the following: (1) Women's eight-hour law, limiting their work to forty-eight hours a week; (2) Saltiel marriage law, requiring physical examinations before marriage; (3) Insurance code, revising and modernizing the insurance laws; (4) Lee-Harper unemployment insurance law.

Six men who have been members of the University of Illinois faculty for many years are retired. They are:

H. H. Braucher, associate in industrial education; Neil C. Brooks, professor of German and curator of the European museum; W. J. Fraser, professor of dairy farming and chief of dairy husbandry in the agricultural experiment station; C. T. Knipp, professor of physics; L. M. Larson, professor and head of the department of history; and H. Van Den Berg, professor of music.

The Inland Steel Company mills in East Chicago and Chicago Heights reopen, and their 14,000 employees go back to work after being idle since May 26.

JULY 2.
The bill appropriating $70,000,000 for relief during the coming biennium is signed by the Governor.

JULY 3.
Governor Horner signs the bill increasing salaries of members of the legislature from $3,500 to $5,000, effective at the 1939 session.

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company plant in South Chicago reopens after being closed by a strike since May 26. About four hundred men are moved in on boats and trains and will live, temporarily, in Pullmans at the plant.

JULY 5.
Mrs. Frank O. Lowden, wife of the former Governor of Illinois and a member of the Pullman family of Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-nine.

JULY 8.
The new fish and game code bill is signed by the Governor. It provides for an extended wild life program to be financed by increased license fees.

JULY 9.
The bill prohibiting "gin marriages" is signed; applications for licenses must be filed not more than thirty or less than three days before the licenses are issued.

JULY 12.
The University of Illinois appropriation bill is signed after an item of $650,000 is vetoed. This makes available a total of $14,149,632 for the University during the coming biennium.

JULY 19.
A bill creating a state employees' annuity fund is vetoed. It was found to be impracticable and unenforcible and would have caused a tie-up of payrolls.

JULY 23.
Mrs. Delia Spencer Caton Field, widow of Marshall Field, Chicago merchant, dies at the age of eighty-four. She was a leader in Chicago society and one of the wealthiest women in the country.

AUGUST 1.
Almost the entire village of Patoka is under lease by oil companies. Twenty-four wells have been located within the corporation limits since oil was struck on the nearby Merryman farm, in January.

AUGUST 2.
Oil is discovered near Noble, in Richland County.

AUGUST 14.
The eighty-fifth annual Illinois state fair opens at Springfield. It is considered the nation's greatest agricultural exhibition.

AUGUST 15.
The businessmen of Noble suspend a sign, "Oil Center

of the World," across the main street of the town. The Pure Oil Company's Arbuthnot No. 1 well, recently brought in, is producing 1,997 barrels of oil a day.

AUGUST 22.

The oil boom continues to bring new prosperity to southern Illinois. The population of Patoka has almost doubled during the last few months; the business of the town has doubled, rents have tripled, and there is work at high wages for everyone. Approximately three-fourths of the land in both Marion and Fayette counties has been covered by oil and gas leases.

The annual state fair closes, having attracted an attendance of 1,025,000 people, the largest number in its history.

Charles F. Thompson, director of the state Department of Conservation since 1933, dies at the age of seventy-three. He was well known as an ardent sportsman.

AUGUST 30.

The American Legion, department of Illinois, opens its nineteenth annual convention at the State Armory in Springfield. Governor Horner and Mayor Kelly of Chicago are among the speakers in the morning. In the afternoon, a grand parade is held with 8,000 people participating, including sixty musical organizations.

AUGUST 31.

The final session of the state American Legion convention is addressed by Maj. Gen. Frank Parker, retired, past commander of the department of the Philippines. The convention adjourns after passing a large number of resolutions and recommendations.

The opening of Chicago schools is indefinitely post-

poned because of numerous cases of infantile paralysis among children of school age. During August, 109 cases were reported; this is the highest number for any August in the city's history.

SEPTEMBER 2.
Additional steps are taken to prevent the spread of infantile paralysis in Chicago. Movie house owners agree to exclude children under sixteen, and playgrounds, wading and swimming pools are to be closed to children under that age. Twelve new cases and two deaths are reported in the last twenty-four hours.

SEPTEMBER 4.
Dr. Herman N. Bundesen, president of the Chicago Board of Health, asks for volunteers, who have had infantile paralysis and recovered, to donate blood to be used in making serum.

SEPTEMBER 7.
Stocks plunge in the sharpest decline in a single day since July 21, 1933. They drop from one to fourteen points, with a war scare given as the cause.

SEPTEMBER 8.
For the week ending on this date, Chicago reports seventy-one new cases of infantile paralysis and eight deaths from the disease. This is an all-time "high" for the first week of September.

SEPTEMBER 10.
Stock market prices crash to new lows, as a wave of selling forces declines of as much as twenty points.

SEPTEMBER 13.
Chicago children start to school by radio as the infantile paralysis epidemic continues. Study courses are broad-

cast on six stations daily and the children are asked to keep notebooks on the courses broadcast. Schools in ten suburban and county towns nearby are closed indefinitely, to eliminate danger of contagion.

Wheat drops to a new low for the season. The closing price on the Chicago Board of Trade is $1.02 7/8.

SEPTEMBER 16.

Chicago high schools begin the new term; the opening was delayed because of the infantile paralysis epidemic. Grade schools will remain closed for the present.

The most modern highway in the state is opened for traffic. It is a four-lane road between Springfield and Sherman, divided in two strips by a sixteen-foot parkway; each pavement is twenty-two feet wide.

SEPTEMBER 17.

Illinois joins the rest of the nation in celebrating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States.

SEPTEMBER 18.

Lott R. Herrick, Illinois Supreme Court justice since 1933, dies at the age of sixty-five. He had been chief justice since June, 1936. His home was in Farmer City.

SEPTEMBER 26.

Charles S. Ross, wealthy retired manufacturer of Chicago, is kidnaped from his car by three men.

SEPTEMBER 27.

Chicago elementary schools open after a postponement of several weeks, due to the infantile paralysis epidemic; movie houses are now permitted to admit children over seven.

SEPTEMBER 28.
Patricia Maguire, thirty-two year old Oak Park stenographer who had been sleeping for five years and seven months, dies of bronchial pneumonia and sleeping sickness.

SEPTEMBER 30.
The output of oil in Illinois during the past month was 818,000 barrels; the amount has doubled during the last six months. There are now 171 producing wells in the state.

OCTOBER 5.
President Roosevelt dedicates the new $11,500,000 Outer Drive bridge in Chicago.

OCTOBER 10.
The new half-million dollar bridge across the Illinois River at Havana is opened to traffic.

OCTOBER 21.
Springfield begins a five-day pageant in commemoration of the city's selection as the capital of the state. A mammoth parade opens the centennial celebration.

OCTOBER 28.
Joseph W. Fifer, Governor of Illinois from 1889 to 1893, celebrates his ninety-seventh birthday at his home in Bloomington.

OCTOBER 30.
"Zuppke Homecoming" is held at the University of Illinois in honor of Robert C. Zuppke's silver anniversary as football coach at the institution.

NOVEMBER 1.
The fourteenth annual Illinois cornhusking contest is held at Van Orin, before a crowd estimated at 70,000.

Will Rose, of Galva, is the winner, turning in 39.547 bushels in eighty minutes.

NOVEMBER 10.

Ceremonies are held in honor of the memory of Vachel Lindsay, Springfield poet, at his grave in Oak Ridge Cemetery there. He was born fifty-eight years ago today and died on December 5, 1931.

NOVEMBER 11.

A joint report of the Illinois and federal departments of agriculture shows that the corn crop of the state is setting an all-time record this year with an average yield of forty-six bushels per acre. This is the highest figure since crop-estimating records were begun in 1866. The state's crop of 434,746,000 bushels is practically double that of last year, and is of fine quality. Good weather, high percentage of a full stand and a substantial increase in the acreage of hybrid corn are the chief reasons for this record.

Illinois joins the nation in observance of Armistice Day.

NOVEMBER 14.

The Federal Bureau of Mines ranks Illinois eleventh among the eighteen leading oil-producing states of the nation.

NOVEMBER 15.

James T. Burns, former Illinois legislator, dies at the age of sixty. He served four terms as Democratic representative from the Kankakee district.

NOVEMBER 23.

A peculiar epidemic occurs at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Chicago. Many babies are stricken with a mysterious intestinal ailment which claims the lives of fourteen of them before the end of the year.

NOVEMBER 25.
The residents of the oil territory of the state are estimated to be collecting nearly $2,000,000 a year from leases and royalties.

NOVEMBER 30.
James O. McKinsey, forty-eight years old, dies of pneumonia. He was the chairman and principal executive of Marshall Field and Company.

DECEMBER 4.
The thirty-eighth International Livestock Exposition, held at the International Amphitheater in Chicago, closes with an attendance record of approximately 450,000.

DECEMBER 7.
A woman is elected as county judge for the first time in Illinois. Miss Jessie Sumner, thirty-nine year old Milford attorney, is chosen to fill the term left vacant in Iroquois County by the death of her uncle, Judge John H. Gillan.

Arthur Davenport Black, Dean of the Northwestern University Dental School for twenty years, dies after a long illness. He had been a member of the staff of St. Luke's Hospital for twelve years.

DECEMBER 9.
E. J. Buffington, president of the Illinois Steel Company for thirty-four years, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-four. He was a prominent figure in the building of Chicago's south side industrial region.

DECEMBER 14.
The moving of Shawneetown, one of the oldest towns in Illinois, to its new site three miles west of the old loca-

tion is begun; here it will be out of danger from floods of the Ohio River, as this site lies twenty-five to fifty feet above the crest of last January's flood. The state and federal governments are providing $1,292,495 for the project, which is expected to be completed in a year and a half. The new Shawneetown will be laid out as a model city with homes and buildings of modern design. The state will buy the old site for a state park.

Miss Kate S. Buckingham, one of Chicago's best known patrons of the arts, dies at the age of seventy-nine. Her will leaves approximately $2,000,000 to the Chicago Art Institute and $1,000,000 for creating a memorial in the city to Alexander Hamilton.

DECEMBER 15.
A severe ice storm strikes northern and central Illinois causing several deaths, and injuries to many others. In many places the highways are virtually impassable.

DECEMBER 18.
State Representative Henry C. Allen dies at his home in Lyndon in Whiteside County. He had represented the thirty-fifth senatorial district in the Illinois General Assembly for sixteen years.

DECEMBER 24.
Guy J. Bunting, vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, dies at the age of fifty-seven. He entered the railroad business in 1900 and had been with the Interstate Commerce Commission and several different railroads during his career.

DECEMBER 28.
Maximum terms of four years' imprisonment and fines of $20,000 each are meted out to thirty-six defendants

in the government's bombing trial in federal court in Springfield. The trial, lasting five weeks, was an outgrowth of mine union warfare in Illinois from 1932 to 1935. The defendants were adjudged guilty of interfering with commerce and with obstructing the mails, in connection with forty-four bombings of railroads and mine properties.

DECEMBER 30.

Judge J. Earl Major authorizes $10,000 bond for all but two of the convicted men in the United States bombing trial, pending appeal. J. Edgar Hoover orders G-men to Springfield to investigate charges of perjury in the bombing trial case.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

"THE INSPIRING CITY"*

When Springfield became the capital of the State its houses were mostly frame and poorly constructed. It contained but little wealth, and many of its citizens found themselves greatly embarrassed through their efforts to raise the $50,000 required under the law toward erecting the new state-house. Its streets and most of its sidewalks were unpaved, and in the spring and fall its normal condition was that of unfathomable mud. Indeed, for many years, it was far from being an inviting city. Mr. Lincoln told a favorite story to illustrate this point. Thompson Campbell, the secretary of state, who had the care and letting of the assembly chamber, one day received an application from a meek-looking man, with a white necktie, for the use of the chamber to deliver a course of lectures. "May I ask," said the secretary, "what is to be the subject of your lectures?" "Certainly," was the reply, with a very solemn expression of countenance; "it is on the second coming of our Lord." "It is of no use," said Campbell, "if you will take my advice you will not waste your time in this city. It is my private opinion that if the Lord has been in Springfield *once*, he will not come the *second time*."

JOHN MOSES, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I: 431-32.

JULIUS ROSENWALD SAVES THE OLD STATE HOUSE

While the Greenbackers' rally at the Court House, (old State House,) Saturday night, was in progress, young Master Rosenwald, son of the clothier, discovered smoke issuing from the Circuit Court Room, up-stairs, and promptly gave the alarm. Examination developed the fact that fire was passing up one of the wooden-encased flues on the west side. The night-watchman and attaches of the building, assisted by some of those in attendance upon the meeting, immediately got buckets of water and began to battle with the

* A slogan in occasional use in Springfield today.—*Editor.*

flames. The fire engines were sent for, and the earlier efforts and those of the firemen, who promptly responded, were shortly successful in entirely subduing the flames.

Illinois State Journal, Nov. 5, 1877.

CABIN-BUILDING IN THE WEST

There are few objects to be met with in the backwoods of the West more unique and picturesque than the dwelling of the emigrant. After selecting an elevated spot as a site for building, a cabin or a log-house—which is somewhat of an improvement upon the first—is erected in the following manner. A sufficient number of straight trees, of a size convenient for removing,are felled, slightly hewn upon the opposite sides, and the extremities notched or mortised with the axe. They are then piled upon each other so that the extremities lock together; and a single or double edifice is constructed, agreeable to the taste or ability of the builder. Ordinarily the cabin consists of two quadrangular apartments, separated by a broad area between, connected by a common floor, and covered by a common roof, presenting a parallelogram triple the length of its width. The better of these apartments is usually appropriated to the entertainment of the casual guest, and is furnished with several beds and some articles of rude furniture to correspond. The open area constitutes the ordinary sitting and eating apartment of the family in fine weather; and, from its coolness, affords a delightful retreat. The intervals between the logs are stuffed with fragments of wood or stone, and plastered with mud or mortar, and the chimney is constructed much in the same manner. The roof is covered with thin clapboards of oak or ash, and, in lieu of nails, transverse pieces of timber retain them in their places. Thousands of cabins are thus constructed, without a particle of iron or even a common plank. The rough clapboards give to the roof almost the shaggy aspect of thatch at a little distance, but they render it impermeable to even the heaviest and most protracted rain-storms. A rude gallery often extends along one or both sides of the building, adding much to its coolness in summer and to its warmth in winter by the protection afforded from sun and snow. The floor is constructed of short, thick planks, technically termed "puncheons," which are confined by

wooden pins; and, though hardly smooth enough for a ballroom, yet well answer every purpose for a dwelling, and effectually resist moisture and cold. The apertures are usually cut with a view to free ventilation, and the chimneys stand at the extremities outside the walls of the cabin. A few pounds of nails, a few boxes of glass, a few hundred feet of lumber, and a few days' assistance of a house-carpenter, would, of course, contribute not a little to the comfort of the *shieling;* but neither of these are indispensable. In rear of the premises rise the out-buildings; stables, corn-crib, meat-house, &c., all of them quite as perfect in structure as the dwelling itself, and quite as comfortable for residence. If to all this we add a well, walled up with a section of a hollow cotton-wood, a cellar or cave in the earth for a pantry, a zigzag rail fence enclosing the whole clearing, a dozen acres of Indian corn bristling up beyond, a small garden and orchard, and a host of swine, cattle, poultry, and naked children about the door, and the *tout ensemble* of a backwoods farmhouse is complete.

EDMUND FLAGG, *The Far West*, I:187-89.

HUNTERS' PARADISE AT PEORIA

I am now going to tell something which will perhaps not be believed, though I am not the only one who has witnessed it. The waters are sometimes low in autumn so that all the sorts of birds that I have just mentioned leave the marshes which are dry, and there is such a vast number of them in the river, and especially in the lake (at the end of which the Illinois are settled on the north shore), on account of the abundance of roots in it, when, if this game remained on the water, one could not get through in a canoe without pushing them aside with the paddle, and yet the lake is seven leagues long and more than a quarter of a league wide in the broadest part.

This river also has a great abundance of fish, and especially the lake, in which there are carp much better than we have in France, two feet long and half a foot thick. A savage, in good weather, spears as many as sixty of them in a day. There are brills of monstrous size. I have seen one whose two eyes were sixteen inches apart and whose body was as big as the biggest man. The late Monsieur de Tonti assured me that he had seen one with an interval of eighteen

inches. I do not doubt that there are some even bigger, for one day a soldier of the garrison at that time among the Illinois, having gone fishing one night in a canoe, and having put out a big rock to anchor it, one of these brills, finding itself caught on the hook, made such powerful efforts that it carried away the canoe, the rock, and the man. The soldier, seeing this, exerted all his strength and was pulling it toward him when, unhappily, the line broke. It was of whitewood bark, twisted thicker than one's thumb.

"De Gannes Memoir," in
PEASE AND WERNER, *French Foundations*, 349-51.

ILLINOIS' FIRST STATE HOUSE

"The sessions of this august body [territorial legislature] were held in a large, rough building in the centre of a square, in the village of Kaskaskia, the body of it being of uncut lime-stone, the gables and roof which was of the gambriel [*sic*] style, of unpainted boards and shingles, with dormer windows. The lower floor, a large and cheerless room, was fitted up for the House, whilst the Council sat in a small chamber above; around a circular table, and, it is said, when the labors of the day were over, the interesting game of 'Loo' at once succeeded. This venerable building was, during the time of the French occupancy of the country, prior to 1763, the head-quarters of the military commandant, and doubtless, within it, many an arbitrary edict was framed, to be executed with all the severity attendant upon the administration of military law, by a military man."

Sidney Breese, quoted by J. D. Caton in address on laying cornerstone of state house, Oct. 5, 1868.
Illinois State Journal, Oct. 6, 1868.

THE ILLINOIS FRENCH

In the year 1818, the whole people numbered about forty-five thousand souls. Some two thousand of these were the descendants of the old French settlers in the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie Du Rocher, Prairie Du Pont, Cahokia, Peoria, and Chicago. These

people had fields in common for farming, and farmed, built houses, and lived in the style of the peasantry in old France an hundred and fifty years ago. They had made no improvements in anything, nor had they adopted any of the improvements made by others. They were the descendants of those French people who had first settled the country, more than a hundred and fifty years before, under Lasalle, Ibberville, and the priests Alvarez, Rasles, Gravier, Pinet, Marest, and others, and such as subsequently joined them from New Orleans and Canada; and they now formed all that remained of the once proud empire which Louis XIV., king of France, and the regent Duke of Orleans, had intended to plant in the Illinois country. The original settlers had many of them intermarried with the native Indians, and some of the descendants of these partook of the wild, roving disposition of the savage, united to the politeness and courtesy of the Frenchman. In the year 1818, and for many years before, the crews of keel boats on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were furnished from the Frenchmen of this stock. Many of them spent a great part of their time, in the spring and fall seasons, in paddling their canoes up and down the rivers and lakes in the river bottoms, on hunting excursions, in pursuit of deer, fur, and wild fowl, and generally returned home well loaded with skins, fur, and feathers, which were with them the great staples of trade. Those who stayed at home, contented themselves with cultivating a few acres of Indian corn, in their common fields, for bread, and providing a supply of prairie hay for their cattle and horses. No genuine Frenchman, in those days, ever wore a hat, cap, or coat. The heads of both men and women were covered with Madras cotton handkerchiefs, which were tied around, in the fashion of night-caps. For an upper covering of the body the men wore a blanket garment, called a "capot," (pronounced cappo) with a cap to it at the back of the neck, to be drawn over the head for a protection in cold weather, or in warm weather to be thrown back upon the shoulders in the fashion of a cape. Notwithstanding this people had been so long separated by an immense wilderness from civilized society, they still retained all the suavity and politeness of their race. And it is a remarkable fact, that the roughest hunter and boatman amongst them could at any time appear in a ballroom, or other polite and gay assembly, with the carriage and behavior of a well-bred gentleman. The French women were remarkable for the sprightliness of their conversation

and the grace and elegance of their manners. And the whole population lived lives of alternate toil, pleasure, innocent amusement, and gaiety.

THOMAS FORD, *History of Illinois*, 35-37.

PHYSIC AMONG THE ILLINOIS FRENCH

ISAAC LEVY, Plaintiff, *vs.* MICHEL BUTEAU, Defendant.

The plaintiff sues the defendant, saying that at the last Court he had been condemned to continue to treat the defendant until his perfect cure in order to obtain the payment, which the defendant was obliged to give him; but he proves that the defendant has not followed his prescriptions nor even taken the remedies, which he gave him; for, he says, he gave him one day sixty pills, seven of which he was to take the first day and to increase the number by one each succeeding day until all were taken; but the plaintiff says that on the next day he went to see the defendant and asked if he had taken the pills that day, and the defendant answered, "No," and said that he did not know what had become of the said pills; but that he believed that the children of the house had lost them. The plaintiff further says that on the following day he returned and brought fifteen more of the same pills; and he requested M. Bte. Alarie to watch and see if the said defendant did not deceive him about the medicine he had given him; and in the afternoon the defendant said to the plaintiff, after having told him that the children had thrown away the said sixty-seven pills, that he had taken them all, which is impossible, the plaintiff maintains, because that was enough to kill him. Madame Bte. Alary appeared and said that the defendant aforesaid did not wish to take any of the said pills, which the plaintiff charged him to take.

The defendant appeared and said that he had taken all the pills that the plaintiff gave him; but since the remedies did not cure him as quickly as he had wished, he took them all in two days.

The Court condemned the defendant to pay to the plaintiff the price which he had agreed to give him, since he has not followed the prescriptions, and also to pay the costs.

C. W. ALVORD, *Cahokia Records*, 119.

PIONEER HYGIENE

Bathing is far from being general in any part of the Valley. On the shores of the Gulf, and at the watering places of the interior, there are bathing houses, to which a number of people annually resort in summer. Those who live near our rivers and the shores of the Northern Lakes, occasionally bathe. In most of our larger cities, there are bathing establishments for both sexes, to which individuals, chiefly of the more wealthy classes, have recourse; and, finally, many individuals have family bathing-rooms, both hot and cold. Still, an overwhelming majority of our population seldom bathe at all. Of the efficacy of daily bathing, in the preservation of sound health and a hardy constitution, there can be no doubt; and it is much to be regretted, that the practice cannot be made more general. A very good and not inconvenient substitute for immersion or showering, may be found in sponging or sprinkling the surface of the body, on rising in the morning, all the year round; or, in the winter, standing at the window and taking an air bath, which should not be prolonged after a slight shuddering has commenced. In all cases the skin should be well rubbed, immediately after the application of the water or the air, with a coarse towel. Our large cities, from New Orleans and Mobile, to Pittsburgh and Montreal, ought to have public cistern-baths, for the gratuitous accommodation of the poorer laboring classes, so many of whom, when sick, are supported at the public expense in our alms-houses and hospitals. Whatever tends to preserve their health, diminishes the poor taxes, not to refer to higher motives, which are obvious, but do not come into the plan of this work.

DANIEL DRAKE, *Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America*, I:679.

THE OLD TIME RELIGION

The first camp-meeting that was ever held in Illinois was commenced on the premises of Mr. Good, about three miles south of the present Edwardsville. This meeting convened in the spring of 1807, and I attended it. At the meeting, many persons were curiously exercised by the "jerks," as it was called. It seemed an involuntary exer-

cise, and made the victims sometimes dance and leap until they were entirely exhausted, and would fall down helpless on the ground. When they were in these furious motions, the parties would generally shout and cry aloud on the Lord. It was supposed to be contagious by sympathy. These jerks remained with the people for many years, but have long since disappeared. The clergy encouraged it for many years, but at last they turned a deaf ear to it, and it ceased among the people. It seemed to me the parties became much excited, and got into a frenzied state of mind, so that they knew not what they did.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *My Own Times* (1879), 64-65.

HISTORICAL NOTES

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY "LINCOLN STORY"

Almost every biography of Lincoln contains the almanac story—how Lincoln impeached the testimony of the chief accusing witness in a murder trial in 1858, by producing an almanac to show that the moon was not shining during the hour in which the witness had averred the crime was committed.[1] Barton and Beveridge go into the matter at some length, for after the trial a rumor arose and persisted that Lincoln had dealt fraudulently with the almanac. One version is that he used an almanac for a year previous to that in which the murder was committed, and another that a "doctored" almanac, the work of a local penman under Lincoln's direction, was used, a copy of the 1853 edition serving that purpose. Brooks cites the offer of the jury foreman to make affidavit that the almanac used by Lincoln was the current one. Lamon presents the testimony of the man in charge of the *Nautical Almanac* office, to the effect that on August 29, 1857 (the date of the alleged murder) the moon had set shortly before midnight, and that since it was two days past the first quarter, it could hardly have been mistaken to be "nearly full," as the witness had testified.

Because of its nature, the matter remains unsettled, but no one familiar with Lincoln's character can believe that he was guilty of altering evidence. What I wish to present here is proof that the story, though with a different principal, was current long before the Armstrong trial. The case is that of Timothy Brecknock, executed with George Robert Fitzgerald in County Mayo, Ireland, in 1786. Brecknock was, throughout his lifetime of seventy years, a notorious consorter with criminals and attorney for them. On one occa-

[1] Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln; From his Birth to his Inauguration as President* (Boston, 1872), 327-31; Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1917), 108; William H. Herndon, *Herndon's Lincoln; the True Story of a Great Life* (Chicago, 1889), 358; William Eleroy Curtis, *The True Abraham Lincoln* (Philadelphia, 1903), 75; Noah Brooks, *Abraham Lincoln and the Downfall of American Slavery* (New York, 1896), 127-29; William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1925), 310-18; Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1928), I: 561-71.

sion he discovered that a client, under indictment for highway robbery, had one hundred pounds in money concealed on his person. Thereupon, Brecknock offered to guarantee the robber his freedom if he would turn over eighty pounds, to be used by the attorney as he saw fit. The criminal did so, and the case came up for trial. As in the Duff Armstrong trial of Lincoln, witnesses for the prosecution testified that they had recognized Brecknock's client by the light of the moon, whereupon Brecknock produced a copy of Ryder's *Almanac* and proved by it that on the occasion of the robbery the moon had not risen until three o'clock in the morning. The accused was acquitted, but afterwards it was discovered that Brecknock had not produced the regular edition.

[He had] got a new edition of Ryder's Almanac printed exactly like the one published, in which nothing but the *lunations* were changed; and he, moreover, had the precaution to have half-a-dozen copies distributed through the court, to be ready for inspection in case any one expressed a doubt of the exactitude of the one handed to the jury. A few days afterwards the Recorder detected the imposition; but the highwayman was on the road, and the solicitor, of course, was not answerable for the misprints of an almanac.[2]

"Connaught Legends," from which this is taken, is the work of Matthew Archdeacon. It was published in 1839, but a version of the story had appeared in the *Connecticut Courant* for February 9, 1789. It is reasonable to assume, I think, that an anecdote of this kind would gain wide circulation. It is possible, therefore, that the story of the Armstrong trial was repeated by some individual familiar with the Brecknock case, who embellished it with the distinctive—and disreputable—features of that episode.

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON

CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

[2] *Dublin University Magazine*, 16:309-10 (1840), in an article reviewing the career of George Robert Fitzgerald. The incidents recounted in the article are taken from "Connaught Legends."

A SKETCH OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH PRINCETON, ILLINOIS

On October 24, 25 and 26, 1937, the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, Illinois celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its organization as a congregation. Three months earlier, on July 11, 1937, the church had dedicated its new building, constructed within the brick walls of the edifice which was destroyed by fire on March 5, 1936. The masonry of these original walls had been laid in 1855, and the building completed in the fall of 1856.

The congregation represented a group of twenty-four members of the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church of Princeton, who seceded on October 24, 1837. Two days later, these twenty-four people organized a new church, the fourth in the village, under the name of the First Independent Congregational Church. The Rev. A. B. Church, a native of Calais, Maine, and associated with the Presbyterian church, as were most Congregationalists in Illinois at that time, became the pastor.

The twenty-four charter members were: Jonathan S. Colton, Betsey Colton; Elisha Wood, Mary Wood; David Robinson, Philinda Robinson; Asher Doolittle, Eunice Doolittle, Laura Doolittle, Harriet Doolittle, Selbie Doolittle, Melissa Doolittle; Obadiah Carlton, Polly Carlton, James B. Carlton, John Carlton; Louisa Bryant Olds; Joel Doolittle, Deborah Doolittle; Adeline Plummer Bryant (Mrs. Austin Bryant); Henrietta Plummer Bryant (Mrs. Arthur Bryant, Sr.); Jane Drake; Amanda Pratt; and Eli Wood.

After a careful study of contemporary and reminiscent materials, though direct evidence is lacking, it appears that three factors operated to bring about the division within the Hampshire Colony Church: (1) an increasing denominational consciousness among the non-Congregationalists encouraged the formation of new churches; (2) the seceding members probably refused to support the militant attitude toward reform adopted by the pastor and membership of the mother church; and (3) a serious personality clash developed with the Hampshire Colony pastor, the Rev. Lucien Farnham, who seems to have excelled in an unrelenting severity and uncompromising attitude toward those who disagreed with him. The original division,

however, did not persist with all the members, for, after further difficulties among themselves, nine of the charter group of the Independent Church and a total of twenty-nine of its members returned to the Hampshire Colony Church before the end of 1844. The fifty remaining in the Independent Church, on Christmas day, 1844, resolved to sever their relationship with the Rock River Association and constitute themselves a Presbyterian church. At least eight among the fifty, and all of them leaders, are known to have come from a background of Presbyterianism, and the relative conservatism of the whole group upon both doctrinal and social problems made affiliation with the Old School Presbyterians an easy step. The church became the thirty-eighth member of Schuyler Presbytery, and in April, 1847, a charter member of Rock River Presbytery.

The next dozen years firmly established its Presbyterianism. Between 1852 and 1857, forty-one of the fifty-four new members brought letters from other Presbyterian congregations, largely in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The early church had included such members as the Topliff, Bryant, Bacon, Reasoner, Carey, Robinson, and Field families from New England; to this list, by 1852, had been added a few middle colony names: those of the Carlton, Corbett, Drake, and Sisler families. The Scotch-Irish migration, within the next five years, brought the Salmons, Martins, McKinstrys, Jordans, and Nortons.

When the congregation first organized in 1837, it held meetings in a store building near the courthouse square. The next year a frame church was erected on what is now the south end of the church lot. Part of the lumber was hauled from Chicago, but the pews were of native walnut. The ground had been donated by Cyrus Bryant, subject to two trust provisions, that it be "surrounded by a neat and sufficient fence to prevent the depradation of stock running at large, and well ornamented with trees." The present trees were planted in 1862, and, until the middle eighties, a picket fence surrounded the lot.

The remainder of the beautiful lot at the corner of the present Euclid and Park Avenue, East (then Fourth and South streets) was acquired in 1848, and a new brick church was begun in 1855. This excellent example of middle colony Georgian, with tall windows whose tops were later arched, and a high spire at the front, developed under the strong hand of DeGrass G. Salisbury, chairman of

the building committee, in opposition to the ideas of many members of the church. Such difficulties arose with the carpentry contractors that, after many delays, the men of the congregation took forcible possession of the building on September 11, 1856, made some necessary alterations, and began holding services. The interior was changed often, at the whim of passing generations, but the exterior remained almost unchanged until the fire of 1936. The original cost had been about $11,000, but the present structure, rebuilt after the fire, cost $34,000, a considerable portion of which came from various members of the Princeton community who desired an exterior similar to the old one. So, once again, the spire rises a hundred feet above the front entrance, but inside, the architect, Herbert A. Brand, has designed a modern colonial church whose entire first floor is furnished in native black walnut given by Mr. and Mrs. Clem V. Field.

For more than a decade after its construction in 1856, the building was utilized for the more important community occasions. Among these were the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Odd Fellows order in the United States by the Illinois lodges (April, 1859); the mass meeting of the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association (May 25, 1859) with the Hon. Owen Lovejoy delivering an address, of which the *Bureau County Republican* said: "His closing remarks were truly eloquent," and "his entire address was heard with marked attention;" the organization of the Bureau County Sunday School Association, July 12, 1859; and the funeral of one of the city's first war dead, Lt. Col. S. A. Paddock, who did not belong to any church. Of the Reverend Mr. Stark's speech at the funeral, a newspaper writer spoke somewhat critically: "If it was not a Christian funeral sermon, it was an eloquent funeral oration." Perhaps one of the most notable occasions in the history of the church was the celebration of the centennial of American independence, at a union service of the religious societies of Princeton on July 6, 1876. The pastor, the Rev. D. G. Bradford, conducted the exercises, which included the reading of the Declaration of Independence by the Reverend Dr. Edwards, the noted Hampshire Colony pastor "in his usual impressive manner."

The Rev. Josiah Milligan, a native Virginian, occupied the pulpit during the Civil War. His congregation included such Democratic leaders as James S. Eckels and J. I. Taylor. Probably only a minority favored Lincoln's election in 1860. Amos Bacon, a strong Republi-

can, who was the church's first historian, declared: "No prayers were offered in behalf of the government, and no loyal sentiment was expressed." He claimed that when Lincoln was inaugurated, Milligan preached on the text, "When the wicked bear rule, the people mourn," and that after the assassination, the same text was used as the basis of the sermon. Strong feeling against Milligan developed in the city, but he weathered the agitation safely. When Lincoln died, the church went into mourning, with "black drapery placed around the church . . . and from the pulpit." Milligan, strangely enough, with Cyrus Langworthy, an ex-sheriff, was designated by the Princeton mass meeting to represent the city at Lincoln's funeral in Springfield.

The position of the congregation during the Civil War was the same that produced its founding a quarter of a century earlier. This consistent opposition to active political participation by the congregation, in contrast to the policy of the Hampshire Colony Church, together with the division of political opinion represented within the membership, caused one of its few ardent Republicans, John M. Grimes, a lawyer, to complain, in the *Republican*, that Presbyterian clergymen "do not discuss great moral questions, from which [they] shrink in silence."

Among its prominent pastors, the church has numbered: Ithamar Pillsbury, an early temperance leader in Illinois, who resigned to become president of the ill-fated McDonough College; Dr. Francis L. Patton, later the renowned president of Princeton Theological Seminary; the Rev. Mead C. Williams, for many years afterward editor of the *Mid-Continent* magazine in St. Louis; the Rev. D. G. Bradford, long the chaplain of the state Senate in Springfield; and Dr. John Acheson, national chaplain of the American Farm Bureau Federation, who resigned the Princeton pulpit this past summer to accept a position as personnel director of Monmouth College.

GEORGE V. BOHMAN

HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

NEWS AND COMMENT

FROM THE EDITOR

With this number, the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* appears in new habiliments.

The new format not only possesses several practical advantages; it also, in the opinion of the Editor, is a decided improvement in appearance. That this is the case is due to Mr. John L. Dial of the Division of Printing, who is responsible for the specifications and typography, and to Mr. Emil T. Rank, Superintendent of Printing, who has coöperated with the Editor in every possible way.

With this number of the *Journal*, two new features are introduced. One, a chronological summary of events in Illinois during the preceding year, will appear annually in the first number of the calendar year. The other, entitled "The Illinois Scrapbook," will be found in each issue. Material appearing in this section will be selected for its flavor rather than because it makes any "contribution" to knowledge. In short, the purpose of "The Illinois Scrapbook" will be to amuse and entertain.

In general, the Editor hopes to make the *Journal* a more interesting publication than it has been in the past. Absolute accuracy and intrinsic merit will be insisted upon, but it is hoped that the dullness which too often accompanies these qualities may be eliminated. After all, there seems to be no fundamental reason why a historical magazine should also be a soporific.

In order to bring the four numbers of a volume within the calendar year, the *Journal* will appear henceforth in the months of March, June, September and December.

In recent months the Illinois State Historical Library has made notable additions to its collections of Lincolniana and American historical manuscripts. Outstanding are two donations: one of eleven original letters written by Abraham Lincoln to his friend and fellow

lawyer, Henry E. Dummer, the gift of Mrs. William F. Dummer of Chicago; the other, by an anonymous donor, of a splendid portrait of Lincoln painted by William Cogswell in 1868, a printed copy of the Proclamation of Emancipation signed by Lincoln and William H. Seward, and a large number of letters and documents of historical importance.

In January, the Library acquired the complete correspondence of Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand, Illinois political leader and soldier. The correspondence includes several Lincoln letters and documents, approximately 150 letters written by General Grant, and many communications from the leading politicians and soldiers of the period. By an agreement with the former owner, the McClernand Papers cannot be made available for general use until January 15, 1940.

From various sources the Library has recently acquired a considerable number of Lincoln letters, in addition to those already mentioned. Its collection of Lincolniana, long outstanding, is rapidly becoming preëminent.

The *Illinois Guide*, preparation of which was undertaken some time ago by the Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, has virtually been completed, according to a recent announcement by John T. Frederick, state director. Most of the manuscript has been approved by specialists in the subjects covered, and awaits only the approval of the Washington editorial staff. It is hoped that the *Illinois Guide* will receive the same enthusiastic reception which has been accorded similar publications in other states.

The first publication to result from the statewide survey of county records, instituted two years ago by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, was issued on December 10, 1937. It is an inventory of the records of Carroll County, and is Number 8 in the projected series. The book, an attractive volume of 103 mimeographed pages, contains a short sketch of the county's history, an analysis of its governmental organization, and a detailed

description of its archives. It will be followed by similar publications for practically every county in the state.

Physical, Economic, and Social Aspects of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River, State of Illinois, is the title of an exhaustive description and analysis recently published in mimeograph form by the University of Illinois. The study was prepared by the University of Illinois, the state surveys, and several state departments at the request of the Illinois State Planning Commission. It is in no sense a plan for the Kaskaskia Valley, but rather the indispensable data in accordance with which any plan must be formulated.

The Division of Department Reports, Springfield, is responsible for the publication of a pictorial map of Illinois which should appeal to every citizen of the state. On one side, in striking colors, is a map, surrounded by pictured episodes from Illinois history. On the other side are a brief biography of Abraham Lincoln, illustrations of the state bird, the state tree and the state flower, and a number of striking photographs of places of unusual beauty and interest. Copies may be obtained from Milburn P. Akers, Division of Department Reports, Springfield.

To most Illinoisans, the name of Roswell B. Mason means nothing. Yet the services to this commonwealth of the man who bore that name were outstanding. As chief engineer, he had charge of the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad—a gigantic engineering and construction task which was accomplished successfully and in near-record time. When the Illinois Central was finished, Mason resigned, but from 1859 until 1892 he resided in Chicago, where he was widely known as a business and civic leader. He was mayor of the city at the time of the great fire, and did more than anyone else to reduce the resulting chaos to order.

Roswell B. Mason was a trustee of the Presbyterian Theological

Seminary, a trustee of the University of Illinois, and a founder and first president of the Western Society of Engineers. It is appropriate, therefore, that a member of that Society who is also a member of the engineering staff of the Illinois Central System—C. H. Mottier of Chicago—should write his biography. Presented originally as a paper before the Western Society of Engineers, Mr. Mottier's study is now published in mimeographed form under the title, *Biography of Roswell B. Mason*. It is an excellent brief account of the life of one who deserves to be remembered by the people of Illinois.

In *James Keeley, Newspaperman*,[1] James Weber Linn recalls to life an editor who is already almost forgotten, in spite of the fact that he was one of the greatest newspapermen of modern times. For a quarter of a century James Keeley was a dominating force on the *Chicago Tribune*, and probably did more than any one else to make it the prosperous and influential organ it is today. His is an interesting story, and in many ways a typical one—the story of a poor immigrant boy who, through will power and ability, attains power and wealth, and in the end is quickly forgotten by the great city in which he lived. Linn tells it well.

Two recent books for younger readers are fashioned from the materials of Illinois history. One is *Vermilion Clay*,[2] by Florance Walton Taylor, in which the adventures of the children in a family of Vermilion County pioneers are related. Mrs. Taylor lives in Danville and is a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. The other, *Swift Walker*,[3] by Winifred E. Wise, is a biography of Gurdon S. Hubbard, the fur trader. Both books are convincing evidence of the richness of the past of Illinois.

[1] Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50.
[2] Albert Whitman & Co., $1.50.
[3] Harcourt, Brace & Co., $2.00.

To commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Williamson County, the Williamson County Historical Society has issued an unusual publication, a pictorial map of the county,[4] compiled and drawn by Nannie G. Parks. Interesting and sometimes amusing sketches depict events in the county from the beginning of the French period until 1839. Early roads and trails, prairies, churches, schools and settlements are also pictured. On the borders of the map are printed the names and dates of arrival of all settlers, in what is now Williamson County, prior to 1839. The map is hand colored.

The Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting on December 4, 1937, at the courthouse in Edwardsville. Three papers were presented: "Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the *Edwardsville Intelligencer*," by Herbert C. Crocker; "Collinsville One Hundred Years Ago," by Mrs. Belle Wadsworth Henson; and "Local History in Our Schools," by D. R. Blodgett. Preceding the program, the following officers were elected: W. L. Walters, president; H. P. S. Smith and Mrs. Belle W. Henson, vice-presidents; Douglas Dale, secretary; E. W. Ellis, treasurer; Mrs. Annie C. Burton, historian; and Mrs. C. C. Corbet, custodian.

During the second week in January the Oak Park Historical Society held its annual meeting in the South Side Library, where it was organized a year ago. Considerable progress in realizing the society's aims was reported.

The meeting of the Peoria Historical Society, on January 12, was marked by an address on the early schools of Peoria and its vicinity, by County Superintendent John A. Hayes, and by a report on the progress of a W. P. A. historical project sponsored jointly by the Peoria Historical Society and the Peoria Public Library. This proj-

[4] Available from Nannie G. Parks, Marion, Ill., $1.00.

ect has for its purpose the discovery and preservation of all kinds of historical material relating to the history of Peoria. Special attention has been given to photographs, with the result that in the last year more than 900 pictures have been made or copied.

The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) met on January 13 to install newly elected officers: Grover C. Ramsey, assistant principal of the Steinmetz High School, president; J. C. Miller, Harlo Grant, Miss Marguerite McBride and George R. Boyles, vice-presidents; Frank L. Wood, treasurer; and Miss Martha Seewer, secretary-historian. At the meeting it was reported that during the preceding year chapters of the society had been organized at the following high schools: Steinmetz, Austin, Medill, Harrison, Schurz, Crane, and Kelvyn Park. On January 20, officers of the society gave a dinner at the Union League Club in honor of Otto Eisenschiml, retiring president.

On January 14, the Riverside Historical Society held its annual meeting in the auditorium of the Riverside Library building. Mr. Otto Eisenschiml of Chicago spoke on the history of Chicago's west side. Dr. S. S. Fuller, president of the Riverside Society, presided.

At the regular meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society, held at the public library in Jacksonville on January 28, LaRue VanMeter, athletic director of Illinois College, spoke on the subject, "Discussion Clubs in American Life." According to Mr. VanMeter, Jacksonville can boast of the oldest discussion club, with an unbroken history, in the United States.

Several thousand invitations to membership were sent out in the month of January by the Evanston Historical Society. The invitations were inscribed on an unusual map depicting the highlights of

Evanston's history, and each bore the signatures of Dr. Dwight F. Clark, the society's president, and Gen. Charles G. Dawes, one of its oldest and most active members. The campaign was instituted in the hope that several hundred new members might be added before November 12, the society's fortieth birthday.

As a direct result of the interest aroused in things historical by Boone County's centennial celebration, a Boone County Historical Society, with headquarters in Belvidere, has recently been organized. Present officers are: Fred Marean, president; James Huff, vice-president; Blanche Marean, secretary-treasurer; and E. B. Glass, Flora Fellows, Mrs. Alia McMaster, A. J. Tripp and Fred Lewis, trustees.

Sustained, intelligent work has marked the course of the Bureau County Historical Society since its organization a few months ago. The society has been given quarters in Bureau County's new courthouse at Princeton and has secured show cases and files for a museum to be opened in the near future. Many interesting articles illustrative of life in the past have already been donated by residents of the county. The society is sponsoring an essay contest in the schools, and has recently commenced a well organized campaign for new members. One thousand members by June, 1938, is the membership committee's goal.

"If any reader is interested in a Historical Society," writes the editor of the *Shelbyville Democrat* in his issue of January 13, "please express your wishes to us and it may be something can be done to preserve a few of the fast disappearing relics of these old families.

"The organization of a historical society need not entail any great cost and will be something that future generations will feel grateful to the present for having been concerned enough to achieve."

According to a recent announcement by the Department of Public Works and Buildings, the final phase of the reconstruction of New Salem is soon to be undertaken. The mill on the Sangamon is to be rebuilt, and the other pioneer industries of the town—the tannery, the hatter's shop, the cooper's shop, etc.—will be restored and equipped with appropriate tools. The aim of the Department is to make New Salem "exactly as it was a century ago, so that visitors today can enter the village and find it as it might have been had all the villagers suddenly been called away from their tasks."

For several months the Union Electric Company of St. Louis has been presenting each week, radio episodes in a series entitled, "The Land We Live In." Frequently the subjects have been of particular interest to Illinoisans. During the fall of 1937, biographical sketches of Ulysses S. Grant and James B. Eads, the bridge builder, were presented; while in the month of January one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was reënacted. The program is presented by Station KMOX (1100 kilocycles) each Sunday evening at 6:30.

CONTRIBUTORS

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THE RECORD OF A FRIENDSHIP

A Series of Letters from Lincoln to Henry E. Dummer

BY PAUL M. ANGLE

MR. Dummer is a very clever man and an excellent lawyer (much better than I, in law-learning)." With these words, written in 1855, Abraham Lincoln referred an applicant for a student's place in his law office to a fellow lawyer whom he had known well for more than thirty years.

Henry Enoch Dummer, of Beardstown, Illinois—"Mr. Dummer" of Lincoln's letter—was a member of a distinguished New England family founded in America by Richard Dummer, who came from Hampshire County, England, to the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1632. Richard Dummer became treasurer of the province, served as a captain in the Pequot War, and prospered materially. One of his grandsons, William Dummer, was lieutenant governor and acting governor of Massachusetts Bay for sixteen years, and founder of Dummer Academy, an institution which still flourishes at Newbury, Massachusetts. Another, Jeremy Dummer, was agent of the New England colonies in England.

Henry E. Dummer was of the sixth generation of his family in America. His father was Jeremiah Dummer who, though born in Newbury, Massachusetts, had established himself at Hallowell, Maine, where he became a prosperous merchant and banker. Jeremiah Dummer

had married Mehitable Moody, whose father, like Jeremiah himself, had served in the Revolutionary War. At Hallowell, Henry Enoch, their seventh child, was born on April 9, 1808.

Jeremiah Dummer believed in education, so he sent his four sons to Bowdoin College, where Henry Enoch graduated on September 5, 1827. Among his fellow students at Bowdoin were Franklin Pierce, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the latter a distant relative. From Bowdoin, Dummer went to the Harvard Law School at Cambridge, Massachusetts. There he came in contact with Justice Joseph Story of the United States Supreme Court, Simon Greenleaf, later to become famous as the author of the classic work on the law of evidence, and other masters of the law.

From Cambridge, Dummer returned to Maine, where he commenced practice. In 1832, however, he emigrated to Illinois, traveling by boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers to Beardstown, and thence on horseback to Springfield. A few months later the *Sangamo Journal*, Springfield's newspaper, carried a notice, dated May 24, 1833, to the effect that he had formed a partnership with John T. Stuart for the practice of the law.

Through Stuart began the long friendship between Dummer and Lincoln. When Dummer had arrived in Illinois, the state was in the throes of the Black Hawk War. In that uprising Stuart had served as a major; while Abraham Lincoln, residing in the nearby village of New Salem, was captain of a company of volunteers. The two men became friends, and Stuart, impressed with Lincoln's intelligence, urged his fellow officer to study law. Lincoln, conscious of his educational deficiencies,

demurred, but two years later he decided to take Stuart's advice and to accept also the help he had proffered.

So, for three years, although he continued to live at New Salem, Lincoln was frequently in the office of Stuart and Dummer at Springfield. He came to borrow or return books, to discuss problems which his studies had presented, and to talk over the political campaigns in which he and Stuart were deeply interested. Many years later Dummer recalled that at the time of these visits Lincoln was "the most uncouth looking" young man he had ever seen. "He seemed to have but little to say," Dummer wrote in 1865, "seemed to feel timid, with a tinge of sadness visible in the countenance, but when he did talk all that disappeared for the time and he demonstrated that he was both strong and acute. He surprised us more and more at every visit."

In the spring of 1837 the *Sangamo Journal* carried this brief notice: "The partnership heretofore existing between the undersigned, has been dissolved by mutual consent. The business will be found in the hands of John T. Stuart, April 12, 1837. John T. Stuart. Henry E. Dummer." The "uncouth looking" Lincoln, just admitted to the bar, was moving to Springfield to become Stuart's partner; while Dummer, convinced of the superior possibilities of a location on the Illinois River, was establishing himself at Beardstown.

But in spite of separation, the friendship begun in the pioneer law office in Springfield was to continue unbroken. Of this fact a series of letters from Lincoln to Dummer are convincing evidence. These letters, eleven in number, have recently been donated to the Illinois State Historical Library by Mrs. William Francis Dummer in memory of her husband, one of the sons of Henry

E. Dummer. The letters, a valuable addition to the Library's fine collection of Lincolniana, are both interesting and important.

The first of the letters is not in Lincoln's handwriting, and although his name, with others, was appended to it, the signature was written by the same man who wrote the letter. But Lincoln's share in the content of the document is beyond question, since he was a member of that small group of Springfield Whigs—the "Junto," their opponents called them—who gave the party such central direction as it enjoyed.

SPRINGFIELD July 2d 1842.[1]

GENTLEMEN:

Some difficulty arises under the apportionment Bill of the last session as to the number of Senators to be elected, and the districts which they are to represent.

The Locofoco party, availing themselves as usual of every opportunity to secure and increase their power, are running a Senator from Cook and one from Will, while that district has a Senator (Pearson) still in office. In the County of Green they run a Senator for Green and Jersey to fill a Vacancy (Allen) and a Senator for Green & Calhoun under the new Law. It is very much to be feared, that having already a majority assured in the Senate they would if the votes should be wanted give these Senators to be elected their seats right or wrong. There are difficulties in a good Construction of the Law and it may be a matter of much doubt, as to what the decision may be. At any rate your District (Cass & Scott) is entitled equally with the others to a Senator, if they receive them they must receive yours, and if both should be rejected, things will be as they were. We take the liberty therefore to suggest the propriety of running a whig in your new district for a Senator, as it will be done here, and we shall at any rate either get an equal number of Senators by it or prevent them from getting any.

The chances of a majority for us on joint ballot are so good that we ought not to permit ourselves to loose [*sic*] it by negligence on our part, or fraud on theirs.

[1] As printed here, the Lincoln letters have been transcribed exactly, except that the short dash which Lincoln customarily used as a period has been rendered as a period.



Henry E. Dummer

Yours Sincerely
A. G. Henry
E. D. Baker
N. W. Edwards
S. T. Logan
A. Lincoln
J. Smith

H. E. Dummer Esqr
and other good Whigs

P. S. It will of course be better for the Clerk to give notices of the elections, but want of time in the notice, will by no means vitiate the Election.

Acting on the advice of the circular, Dummer became a candidate for election to the state senate from the Cass and Scott district, only to be defeated by James Gilham, a Democrat. However, since Scott County was already represented under the old law, Gilham was refused his seat.

The second letter concerns a minor business matter impossible to clarify at this date. The letter is an interesting example, however, of a quality characteristic of Lincoln as a letter writer—his ability to say what was necessary without the waste of a word, and then to stop.

Springfield, Jany. 2, 1844.

Friend Dummer:

In reply to yours of the 14th ult. I say that if you can get a clear title to the 40 acres of land, together with costs, and a reasonable fee to yourself, I reckon you had better do it. Have the deed made to me.

Yours as ever
A. Lincoln.

The following letter is typical of Lincoln the candidate—frank in its avowal of purpose, but fair towards those who might be in disagreement or opposition. Edward D. Baker, who then represented the Springfield district in Congress, had yielded to Lincoln, but John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, whom Baker had succeeded, was

manifesting too much interest in the office for Lincoln's peace of mind.

SPRINGFIELD, Nov. 18th, 1845.

FRIEND DUMMER:

Before Baker left, he said to me, in accordance with what had long been an understanding between him and me, that the track for the next congressional race was clear to me, so far as he was concerned; and that he would say so publicly in any manner, and at any time I might desire. I said, in reply, that as to the manner and time, I would consider a while, and write him. I understand friend Delahay to have already informed you of the substance of the above. I now wish to say to you that if it be consistent with your feelings, you would set a few stakes for me. I do not certainly know, but I strongly suspect, that Genl. Hardin wishes to run again. I know of no argument to give me a preference over him, unless it be "Turn about is fair play." The Pekin paper has lately nominated or suggested Hardin's name for Governor, and the Alton paper, noticing that, indirectly nominates him for Congress. I wish you would, if you can, see that, while these things are bandied about among the papers, the Beardstown paper takes no stand that may injure my chance, unless the conductor really prefers Genl. Hardin, in which case, I suppose it would be fair. Let this be confidential, and please write me in a few days.

Yours as ever
A. LINCOLN.

Hardin's ambition was tenacious, but Lincoln finally induced him to decline to be considered as a candidate. Lincoln's own nomination and election followed in due course, and he served in the national House of Representatives from 1847 until 1849.

After his term in Congress, Lincoln withdrew from politics to a large extent and devoted himself principally to his practice. The next few letters are typical business communications, but even so, they reflect the friendly confidence which Lincoln placed in his correspondent.

SPRINGFIELD, March 28, 1853.

DEAR DUMMER:

Inclosed please find three dollars, the smallest sum I could send

by mail for the $2.50 you kindly advanced for me, which please accept, together with my thanks, and offer to reciprocate when occasion presents.

Your friend as ever
A. LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, Nov. 17, 1853.

DEAR DUMMER:

While I was at Beardstown, I forgot to tell you that Wm. Butler says if you will give him charge, and full discretion, of a claim in your hands, against George G. Grubb, late of Springfield, now of Chicago, he knows how, and can, and will make something out of it for you. Please write him.

Yours truly
A. LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 26, 1853.

H. E. Dummer Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

Butler has just shown me your letter to him concerning the Grubb debt; and, in relation to your intimation that you might be induced to sell it, he desires me to say to you that, in a few days over three months he is *sure* to get the principal of the debt (without interest) and that after you shall have received this information, he will entertain any proposition you may make, to sell. Please write him again.

Yours as ever
A. LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, March 10, 1855.

H. E. Dummer, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

A firm of lawyers in New-York have sent me a money bond, of $2,000 for collection. Both the parties to the bond reside in New-York, but the obligor has a farm of 330 acres, within about a mile of Rushville in Schuyler county, out of which, by an attachment suit, the obligee wishes collection to be made. As I do not practice in Rushville, I have concluded to send you the job, if you will write me, saying you will take it. What say you? The attorneys who send me the claim, say their client is a good responsible man.

Yours as ever
A. LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, March 19, 1855.

DEAR DUMMER:

Yours of the 11th is just received. Herewith are the bond, and both the letters of my correspondents, in relation to it. The letters contain all the information I have on the subject. I wrote them the same day I wrote you, that I was going to send you the claim, if you would take it.

Logan is willing to take the vacant seat on the Supreme Bench; but he is very anxious to not be beaten, if he is put on the track as a candidate. Our friends here, and everywhere, as far as I have heard, are for him; but it behooves us to be wide awake. At the last congressional election there was a small majority against us in the Middle Division. I am quite anxious for Logan's election, first, because he will make the best Judge, & second because it would hurt his feelings to be beaten worse than it would almost any one else.

Your friend as ever

A. LINCOLN.

The reference in the last paragraph of the preceding letter was to Stephen T. Logan of Springfield, with whom Lincoln had been in partnership from 1841 until 1844. Logan was a fine lawyer, but he lacked the personal characteristics necessary to success at the polls. His candidacy led to a defeat so overwhelming that after the election Lincoln wrote to a friend: "Logan is worse beaten than any other man ever was since elections were invented."

The date of the following letter makes it a document of unusual interest, for it was written on the eve of Lincoln's famous contest with Stephen A. Douglas, when he was marshaling all his resources for the campaign.

SPRINGFIELD, July 20, 1858.

Henry E. Dummer, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

When I was in Beardstown last Spring, Dr. Sprague said if I would leave a bill, he would pay it before long. I do not now remember that I spoke to you about it. I am now in need of money. Suppose we say the amount shall be $50.? If the Dr. is satisfied with that, please get the money and send it to me.

And while you have pen in hand, tell me what you may know about politics, down your way.

Yours as ever
A. LINCOLN.

Apparently Dummer responded to Lincoln's request for political news. His letter, in turn, called forth the following letter from Lincoln.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 5, 1858.

FRIEND DUMMER:

Yours, not dated, just received. No accident preventing, I shall be at Beardstown on the 12th. I thank you for the contents of your letter generally. I have not time now to notice the various points you suggest; but I will say I do not understand the Republican party to be committed to the proposition "No more slave States." I think they are not so committed. Most certainly they prefer there should be no more; but I know there are many of them who think we are under obligation to admit slave states from Texas, if such shall be presented for admission; but I think the party as such is not committed either way.

Your friend as ever
A. LINCOLN.

Apparently Dummer had anticipated one of the questions which Douglas put to Lincoln in the first of the joint debates, namely: "I desire him [Lincoln] to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them." To this Lincoln replied in the Freeport debate:

I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I

see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The following letter, an ordinary communication from one lawyer to another, ends the series.

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 8, 1860.

Hon. H. E. Dummer

MY DEAR SIR:

I have examined and considered the question propounded in your letter accompanying copy of contract in relation to Lard Tanks, apparatus &c, and my opinion is that Messrs. H. C. Chadsey & Co., would, as a general proposition, have the right to continue to use the Tanks, apparatus &c, which they have on hand.

The reason why I say "*as a general proposition*" is that I fear the particular phraseology of their contract, deprives them of it. The language of the contract is so explicit, and so oft repeated, that the right to use, "shall be until the expiration of said patent" that I fear it will be held that by their contract, they can not have the benefit of the extension.

Much may be said on the other side; and I only mean to say that in my mind the question, on the phraseology of the contract is doubtful, and perhaps is worth trying.

Yours as ever

A. LINCOLN.

From 1837 until 1864, Henry E. Dummer resided at Beardstown. In a few years he acquired a large and lucrative practice, and became a respected and influential citizen. Although he preferred his profession to politics, circumstances occasionally induced him to offer himself for office. Thus he served as probate justice of the peace —an officer whose duties approximated those of the modern probate judge; as a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1847; and as a member of the Illinois senate from 1861 to 1864. His senatorial candidacy was the result of persuasion by Lincoln, who felt that the Beardstown district should be represented in the legislature by a man of unquestionable loyalty, and who knew

that Dummer's personal prestige would insure his election.

At Beardstown, on January 16, 1840, Henry E. Dummer married Phebe Van Ness. Of their marriage one of their sons has written: "Nothing could exceed the domestic happiness of my parents during their long married life." To them were born ten children, five of whom attained maturity.

In 1864 Dummer removed to Jacksonville, where he formed a partnership with David A. Smith, a close friend. Smith died in the following year. In 1874 Dummer became the partner of William Brown, and later the firm was enlarged to include Robert D. Russell.

In Jacksonville, as at Beardstown, Dummer held numerous positions of trust, among them trustee and treasurer of Illinois College, trustee of the state hospital for the insane, and attorney for the Chicago and Alton Railroad.

The following pen portrait and characterization was written by Charles Henry Dummer, the only survivor of Henry E. Dummer's ten children:

> My father was very particular in the matter of his dress and personal appearance. He always wore a broadcloth suit, except in hot weather, when he wore a long linen coat and white duck trousers. He wore, in my early days, a tall silk hat, which was commonly called a "stove-pipe." He never appeared, even in the privacy of his family, in dishabille or in his shirt sleeves or without collar and cravat.
>
> Without being stiff, he was formally polite to everyone. His conversation was interesting and instructive—always adapted to his listeners, young and old, educated or ignorant.
>
> He seemed a perfect master of himself—body and mind. I never saw him show anger or in a bad humor. Indeed he never gave way to strong emotions of any kind. He seemed calm and self-possessed on all occasions and in all emergencies.
>
> He was charitable and generous in the extreme. He assisted many

young people in obtaining an education and contributed liberally to all good causes.

Upon the death of Henry E. Dummer, at Mackinac Island on August 12, 1878, the Morgan County Bar adopted resolutions expressing so truly the place he had occupied among his fellow men that they are inserted here.

Resolved, that by the death of the Hon. Henry E. Dummer, the members of this Bar in common with the entire community, are called upon to deplore the loss of a profound Jurist, an accomplished Scholar, a most exemplary and useful citizen and a devoted Christian.

Resolved, that our deceased brother in his various relations as an eminent and successful lawyer, a Magistrate, Legislator, and in all his numerous and responsible positions of private trust and confidence has left a name unsullied by suspicion or reproach and rich in all the qualities that command the admiration and respect of men.

Resolutions, personal tributes, and sorrow in the hearts of friends are proper recognition of a well-spent life. But the finest memorial is that which a man by word or act creates for himself. At a monument of this kind Henry E. Dummer had been at work for years, and not the least important stone in the edifice was his recognition of the greatness of Lincoln. Often his mind reverted to the little Springfield law office and the awkward youth from New Salem, and he said to his children: "I witnessed a true miracle. I saw the amazingly rapid transformation of a raw Illinois backwoodsman into one of the most sublime and colossal figures of all times."

NOTE

This article is based in large part on a biographical sketch (manuscript) of Henry E. Dummer by his son,

Charles Henry Dummer, of Los Angeles, California. For permission to use this sketch, and for friendly helpfulness on other matters, I am deeply in Mr. Dummer's debt. I wish also to make public acknowledgment, on behalf of the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of the public-spirited generosity of Mrs. William F. Dummer of Chicago in donating the letters from Lincoln to her husband's father to the State of Illinois.

FARMING IN ILLINOIS A CENTURY AGO AS ILLUSTRATED IN BOND COUNTY*

BY HUBERT SCHMIDT

INTRODUCTION

A VERY fertile field for historical research, the surface of which investigators have as yet barely scratched, is to be found in the archives of our county courthouses. Some of these records have been burned or otherwise destroyed, but fortunately most counties have rather complete files going back to the time of their original organization.

The records in the offices of every county clerk and county recorder, in particular, are virgin soil for economic and social historians. The various reports of county officials and the transactions of county governing bodies provide essential source materials for anyone interested in the theory and actual functioning of local government. The transcripts of the field notes of government surveyors, the records of original entry, the school commissioners' land sales accounts, and the huge tomes filled with thousands of deed records are grist for the mill of any student of land values, land ownership, or other land problems. The probate records, which in-

* This paper, in the main, is part of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Chicago. Copies of that dissertation may be found in the University of Chicago Library and the Illinois State Historical Library.

clude wills, inventories, appraisals of estates, sale bills, receipts, claims against estates, administrators' accounts, etc., are filled with invaluable data for those who are studying price levels, economic relationships, agricultural techniques, or modes of life. The proceedings of the circuit courts supply an abundance of information for research workers making studies of crime, law enforcement, divorce, or other social problems.

The musty and dimming pages in county vaults contain many a tale of forgotten tragedy or farce, of human aspirations and activities crowned with success or failure, of shame and sorrow and disappointment, of justice triumphant or of justice foiled. The writer searching for a true picture of life can make no mistake in going to these old records which reflect so clearly the day by day activities of a whole people.

The letters, diaries, memoirs, account books and other personal records of average citizens are also very worthy of attention by the historian. Unfortunately, this rich source of information is continually disappearing as time passes. The same is true of the records of early churches, schools, and social groups, including old settlers' associations already disbanded by death or other causes. Valiant efforts are now being made by historical societies and other groups to collect such materials. But every year sees thousands of these manuscripts irretrievably lost. It is regrettable that source materials, from which the writers of social history might with accuracy portray the life of the past as it was lived, disappear in this way. The locating, collecting, and preserving of these documents is more difficult than is generally realized. Though the guardians of these treasures seldom attach much importance to them and often make little

effort to preserve them, the historical investigator or collector very often finds himself defeated by family pride, inertia, avarice, or sheer obstinacy. Any effort made to educate people as to the importance of preserving and making available such source materials is to be highly commended.

This article is concerned with the agricultural development of Bond County, Illinois, before 1850. Like the longer work from which it is for the most part taken, it was written mainly from the various kinds of records above mentioned, supplemented by narratives of the Old Settlers' Association of Bond County in the possession of John Nowlan, Greenville, Illinois. Because of the nature of the sources used, footnote references have been omitted. The writer would feel that his labors were amply rewarded if he stirred other students into greater use of these sources while they are still available.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

The first permanent settlers came to Bond County about 1808. They found there a region of alternating prairie and forest, characteristic of much of Illinois. The soils varied from thin clays to deep dark loams. Though some parts were swampy, most of the prairies were slightly rolling and well-drained, covered with prairie grass and other prairie plants. The forests of the county were for the most part along the larger streams. Those along Shoal Creek and East Fork in the western part of the country reached a width of several miles in some places. Surveyors' entries often mention trees as large as three feet in diameter. The great number of springs and the ease of digging shallow wells made water supply a minor problem. The indigenous animal life was of a kind

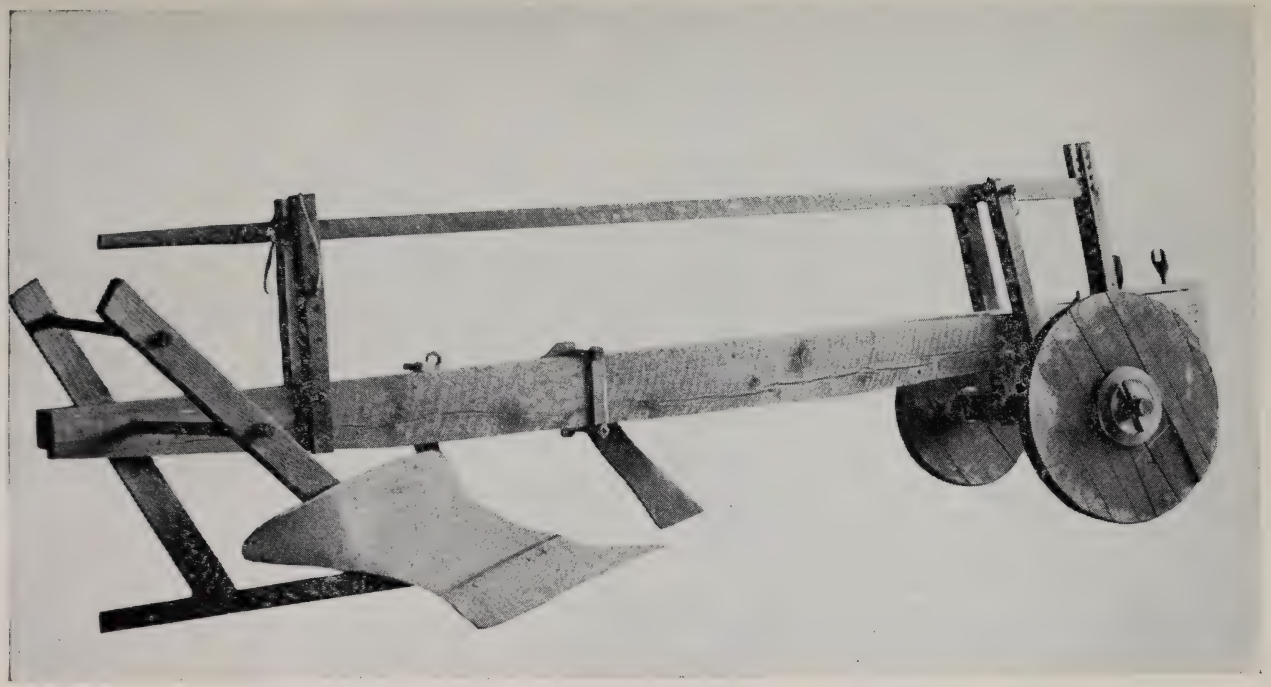
which would provide many of the necessities of life. Predatory animals and insects, with the exception of the mosquito, were neither numerous nor dangerous. It was a land from which hardy pioneers could wrest a good living.

The early groups coming to the county were typical pioneers of the Middle West. With them on their journeys they brought the requisites for life in the new land. Their oxcarts were loaded with tools, seed, poultry, utensils, and simple furniture. The livestock were driven along near the carts, usually by the children. At the new home site the animals lived off the land while rude cabins were constructed, "patches" cleared, and crops planted and tended. Naturally, a hand-to-mouth existence during the first years was the common rule. Wild game played an important role in the diet, so much so that "burning the woods" and firing the prairie in the fall in order to make winter hunting easier were cooperative ventures. Buckskin and other pelts tanned with forest products supplemented the homespun wool, cotton, and linen, which were dyed at home with "blue dye" made from home-grown indigo. Domestic animals and the cleared fields supplied an increasing portion of the food. One could live if one had "hog and hominy." Candles, rough shoes, and other simple needs could be made from animal products. It was a simple, hard life, and one could not depend upon much surplus. A Kentucky youth who came to Bond County in 1830 later wrote:

> We were married and came here to live. We didn't move for we had nothing to move. I had an old horse, cow, plow, and some home made tools and wife had some household goods she had made. We had little money but did not need much as we raised or made all we used.

However, conditions changed with the times. The growing town of St. Louis with its New Orleans and Pittsburgh river trade was only fifty miles from the center of the county. It provided a ready market for surplus wheat, whisky, hogs, and cattle. The round trip by wagon required at least five days when the roads were good and far longer when they were not. Cattle and hogs were usually "driven through." Prices in St. Louis were naturally low because of its distance from the ultimate market. Yet farmers were able to forge ahead. Land was cheap and operating expenses negligible. The prairie furnished free pasture and the forest provided food for hogs and poultry. The cleared fields grew larger and the prairie was gradually broken into cultivation. Having an expanding market for his products, the farmer could increase the size of his operations, put to work the family labor force, and take up the newer and improved farming methods then coming into use.

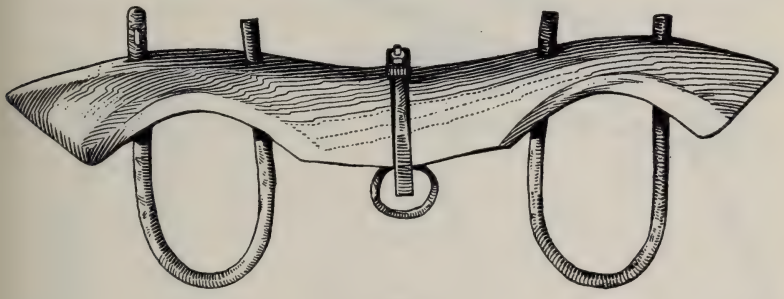
The slow-moving oxen were employed for the heavy job of breaking prairie. The "bull tongue" or prairie plow, was in use in some places as late as 1850, and oxen were still used then by a few farmers for heavy hauling. The census of 1850 reported 857 "working oxen" in the county. One rather large farm in 1838 had three yokes of oxen and an oxcart. But it also had nine head of horses and five "Cary plows" for employment during corn time. For most farm work the horse was coming more and more into favor, though it was comparatively expensive to keep. The census of 1840 reported 2,437 horses and mules for the county; that of 1850 gave 3,087 horses and 113 mules. Oxen had required only yokes and chain tugs. To use horses, farmers must provide collars of plaited



Prairie Plow, 1818

corn shucks, heavy wooden hames, leather backbands, and tugs of chain or rope. "Blind bridles," "plowing lines," and "check lines" were used to control the less tractable beasts.

Better implements for work were coming into use. By 1850 the "bar-shear plow" was largely replaced by a plow with an iron moldboard. Early pioneers had dragged brush over plowed ground to prepare a seedbed, or had used harrows with wooden pegs. In or before the thirties harrows with iron teeth came into general use.

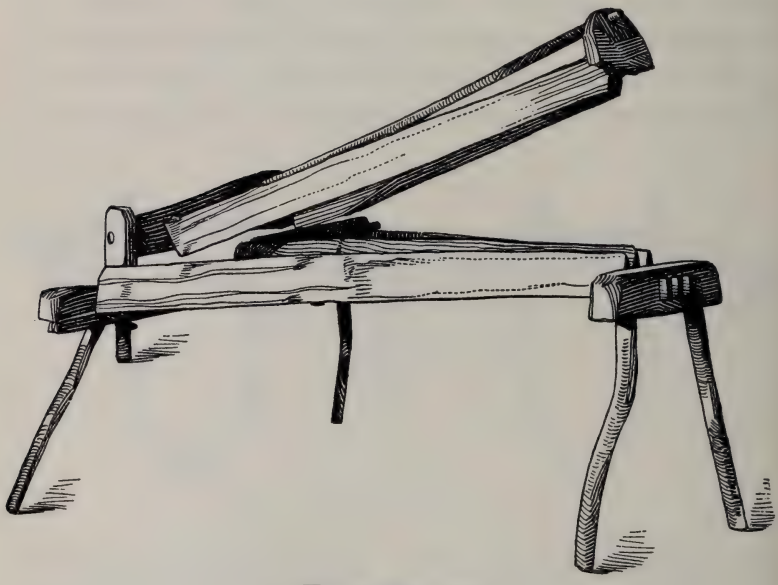


Ox Yoke

The Cary or "diamond plow" was in common use in the thirties for planting corn, the only handwork required being the dropping of corn by the children. The Cary plow was also very practical for cultivation of the growing crop. It had two small shovels or "diamonds," the pitch of which could be regulated according to the height of the stalks. A small boy could operate the plow and the single horse required to pull it. Another cultivator was the "double-shovel" or shovel plow, used for "laying by" the crop.

The early pioneers, coming mostly from beyond the Ohio, brought with them the crops of the South. An

attempt was made to establish cotton as a staple crop and a number of planters brought in negroes for their "plantations." Because of the handicaps due to weather and soil their efforts did not prove sufficiently remunerative. However, cotton was grown for domestic use until



Flax Brake

the late forties. Such items as "1 lot of cotton in the patch," "one lot of seed cotton," and "1 cotton spinning wheel," were common at country sales. Flax, also, was grown for home spinning and weaving. Inventories of the property of estates all through the period mention flax wheels, cards, "hackels," and "unbroken flax." Nearly every family had its patch of indigo, and the "kittle of blue dye" was often underfoot in the cabin. Still more necessary in providing the comforts

of life was the tobacco crop. Even a widow who died in 1847 had a patch of tobacco.

Time proved that none of these crops could be produced commercially with profit. The census of 1840 listed for the county six and one-half tons of hemp and flax and 3,665 pounds of "tobacco gathered." The amount of cotton was not listed, probably because it was negligible in quantity. On the other hand, certain "truck patch" crops, as sweet potatoes, cabbage, pumpkins, and melons were grown in increasing amounts, as were the field crops—corn, wheat, and oats. Diversified farming with considerable stock raising, characteristic of the Middle South, was the general rule in the new land. The pioneers tried the various crops of their old homes and in the end retained those adapted to the soil and climate of the new.

The grain crops gradually became the money crops in Bond County. The corn yield of the average family was rather small in the early days but increased greatly as stock raising increased. One typical estate in 1840 sold at auction "18 acres of corn in the field," and another in 1847 had 450 bushels of corn cribbed. The census of 1840 estimated the corn crop of the county for that year as 209,130 bushels and that of 1850 reported 460,985 bushels. The lack of a satisfactory market for this grain is reflected by its generally low price during the period, ranging between a high of twenty-five cents per bushel in 1842 and a low of half that in 1847. Since the bulk of the crop was used for the feeding of cattle and hogs, its value depended on their market price.

Oats was another cereal used almost entirely for feeding purposes. There is no mention of the crop in the earliest records, but during the thirties it gradually came

into favor. The estimated oat yield of 1840 was 23,450 bushels, and by 1850 the census report had increased it to 84,771 bushels. Sometimes the crop may have been cut as hay when the grain was "in the milk," but the usual custom seems to have been to reap it with hook and cradle and to bind it into bundles. These sheaves were then shocked and were often later put into stacks or ricks. An estate in 1840 had for sale "a stack of oats and seventy-five dozen sheaves." How much of the crop was threshed and how much fed "in the sheaf" it is impossible to say, but the occasional stacks of oat straw for sale prove that at least part of the crop was threshed in the days before the power thresher came into use.

Due to the fact that both mills and markets were far distant from the farms in early days, not a great deal of wheat was raised. However, mills were soon built within reasonable driving distance of all parts of the county, and roads to the St. Louis market were opened. Wheat then became a staple. As one settler put it, "Wheat on Prairie sod was a sure crop." Reaping hook and cradle soon took the place of the sickle, and the harvest was often a neighborhood affair. Threshing by the threshing-floor method was arduous work. Part of the threshing job was made easier when the wheat fan appeared and took the place of homemade devices for removing the chaff. This new implement was to be found on nearly every farm by the late thirties. The "ground hog" thresher, which first appeared in Bond County in 1844, eliminated the "tramping" and flail work. The wheat fan was not attached to the thresher until much later. The reaper with its revolutionary changes in harvesting belongs outside of our period as far as Bond County is concerned.



Ash Hopper

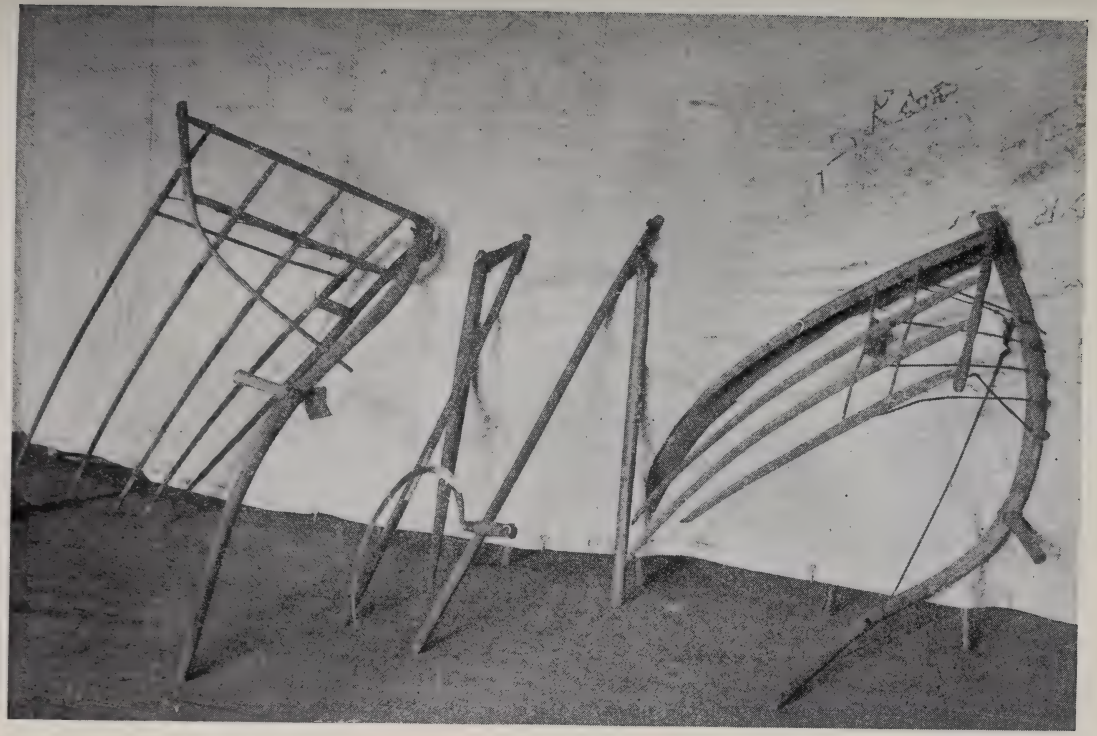
Winter wheat was a common crop, though some spring wheat was also raised. Both wheat and rye were usually hauled to market as soon as threshed, probably as much to take advantage of summer roads as to avoid storage. Few estates when settled had any wheat on hand except a few bushels kept for seed. The wheat crop of 1840 was estimated at 25,722 bushels, seemingly not very large when compared with the corn yield. The estimate for the rye crop for that year was a mere 1,540 bushels.

The cutting and stacking of prairie grass for hay was practiced from the earliest days. This hay was probably used largely for outside feeding. The increasing mention of "stacks of hay" in probate records reflects the growing numbers of farm stock. But as more and more of the prairie came under cultivation it became important to provide other kinds of roughage. Oat straw and even wheat straw had a market value. A portion of the corn crop was usually cut as fodder, used both as provender and bedding in the winter. A cryptic country remark described such coarse feed as "better than a snow bank." The first indication of the growing of timothy is an item of "2 bbls. of timothy seed" in an inventory of 1839. The census of 1840 reports 1,079 tons of hay, but it does not indicate the kind. Most estates of the forties mention in their inventories small quantities of timothy seed; so it is probable that this crop, which did well on the prairie, was coming into general use.

The natural advantages for stock raising in Bond County were many. The St. Louis market was not far, natural range was plentiful, and winters were not usually severe. Corn, oats, and forage were easily grown, but of little value unless fed to stock. Cattle, sheep, and

the long-legged swine of the day could be marketed cheaply by driving them to market. In 1819, the ferry near Vandalia, then within Bond County, charged three cents for each cow and two for each hog or sheep. By the fifties hogs and sheep were usually crated and hauled to St. Louis in market wagons. Cheap food supplies and natural forage led to the keeping of much poultry. The low prices of poultry at public sales suggest that the cost of transport to market prevented much profit in poultry raising. Though fowls were raised largely for home use, crates filled with them were often taken along on trips to St. Louis. Local merchants also accepted poultry and poultry products "in trade." Geese provided feathers for both domestic use and for sale on the market. Because of the profusion of wild flowers, bee-keeping was also general. In 1831 a farm not far from average in size had 2 horses, 10 head of beef cattle, 1 yoke of oxen, 26 head of other cattle, 50 hogs, 26 sheep, and 37 beehives. An estate in 1845 sold 5 horses, 32 cattle, 14 sheep, and 70 geese.

Many hogs and quite a few cattle were killed for home consumption. The chief winter meat was salt pork, cured in the family smoke house. There was always a fair market for pork products. At auction sales during the period, pork and lard each usually brought from five to ten cents a pound. If a sale was held not too long after butchering time, the meat sold was a sizable item, as much as 1,000 pounds of bacon being not unusual. Sheep seem to have been raised chiefly for their wool and for the market, as mutton was not a locally popular food. The farmer of the period relied upon stock raising both as a means of producing a cash product and as a source of domestic food supply. The 1840 census reported 7,725



Cradles, Flails and Sickles

neat cattle, 5,397 sheep, and 15,998 swine within the county. The value of poultry was listed as only $3,201. The census returns of 1850 estimated over nine thousand each of cattle and sheep and over eighteen thousand swine.

There was no stock law in Illinois at this time. Beginning in 1834, the county administration each year appointed fence viewers to see that growing crops were sufficiently well enclosed by their owners. Unfenced lands, both private holdings and "Congress land," were treated as commons. One pioneer record states that in the early forties the prairies were covered with horses and cattle. Each farmer had a stock mark or brand which was registered at the county seat. By 1830 fifteen brands and over one hundred stock marks were in use. The law of estrays regulated the advertising for lost and found stock. A stray pen forty feet square was built at the county seat in 1822 to care for such stock.

The fact that there were large unfenced areas explains in part the large number of animals kept by farmers. Cattle and sheep could range for miles. Hogs were taken in the early fall to the heavy timber of the bottoms and there turned loose to fatten on the "mast." When butchering time came, the neighborhood held a "round up" and divided the hogs according to their marks. Such items at public sale as "hogs in the woods," "out geese," "public improvement on Congress Land," and "one acre of corn on publick land" reflect the free use of the open lands. In 1820, the government stopped selling land on credit. Henceforth for several years, there were almost no government sales. Newcomers undoubtedly built their houses on public lands. Stringer Potts, who owned forty-two horses and cattle, forty-five

geese, over one hundred hogs, and five "lots of sheep" certainly used more land than the eighty acres to which he held title. The general idea of the time seems to have been that government land was there to be exploited.

Orchards were planted as early as the twenties. One John Smith brought budded seedlings from Ohio by horseback and later ran a nursery which supplied the countryside with apple trees. The average farmer wanted only a small home supply of apples, a barrel or two of cider from the windfalls, and some dried fruit. Later, however, markets developed and apples were hauled to Springfield, St. Louis, and other places. An orchard in the western part of the county in the fifties had three varieties of peaches and ten of apples, besides pears, peaches, quinces, and cherries. Family orchards could be successfully grown in that day when fruit-tree pests were few.

Typical pioneer log cabins with clapboard roofs and puncheon or board floors were still used in a few places in 1850. But the usual fate of the old cabin, when the family once became relatively prosperous, was to be relegated to other uses. One pioneer, speaking of his father's cabin, built in 1817, says: "We later moved it. It lasted 71 years as house and stable." Some old cabins are still in use as corncribs today. A mark of progress in that day was to leave the old cabin behind and move into the new frame house. In the year 1839, forty-three frame houses were constructed in the county. The distinction between a "house" and a "cabin" is very marked in probate records. Sometimes instead of building a new house, the farmer weatherboarded the cabin and built on a frame addition.

It was natural that the same pride in progress which

changed the dwelling should cause a desire for newer and better home furnishings. In the thirties stoves began to appear, though the fireplace was in common use at the end of our period. "Dressers" were in use in the twenties, and "bureaus" in the early thirties. "Turned post bedsteads" are indicative of the changing style in furniture.

But the greatest alteration in the farmer's way of living was his increased purchase of manufactured goods. The farms became less and less self-sufficing and farm labor was released for increased specialization. Woolen homespun was used for work clothes until after 1850, but the spinning wheels were more and more neglected as manufactured cloth became cheaper. The same thing was true as to many other supplies. In the thirties, tinware was already driving out the old family standby, the gourd. Nails, rope, pocket knives, brooms, etc., had become cheap. Apparently a great deal of sewing was still done, but many other home tasks were eliminated. A list of the items bought by a farmer from a Greenville store in 1838 and 1839 will illustrate the change which had taken place:

1 yd. shirting 17 cts., . . . 2 lb. nails 25 cts., . . . 15 yds. for shirting at 17 cts. $2.55, . . . 1 doz. vest buttons 12½ cts., . . . 1½ yds. calico .25, . . . 3 yds. Eding 25 cts., . . . 1 palm hat 31 cts., . . . 2 oz. indigo of madder 40 cts., . . . Ladies Kip shoes $1.25 cts., . . . Covr. tin bucket 87½ cts., . . . grain scythe $1.75, . . . 1½ lb. alum 6¼ cts., . . . 1½ yd. bulk, cambric 25 cts., . . . 3 yd. calico 60 cts., . . . 2½ yds. red flannel 68¾ cts., . . . ¼ yd. plaid cambric 19 cts., . . . 2 oz. shirt buttons 13 cts., . . . spool of thread 13½ cts.

THE FARMER'S REWARD

All during the period under consideration the gaining of at least a meager livelihood was possible to all. Land

was cheap and industry well-rewarded. A large family was an asset rather than a burden. To acquire large wealth was difficult, but for a family to gain an estate and make a comfortable living was not beyond reasonable expectation. A man when starting out might have to "squat" on government land for a time, or rent a small farm, or even hire out as a farm hand, but with reasonable luck he could eventually become a landowner. There might be lean years because of poor prices, bad weather, or poor health, but expenses were not great and, in general, good crops on the new land were rather certain. Stock were not expensive to keep and multiplied rapidly. When prices were reasonable the farmer could add to his landed possessions, make new improvements, or increase the gradually accumulating working equipment of his farm. A lifetime of work usually built up an estate of some size and several hundred dollars' worth of "goods and gear" in addition to the land itself. The appraisal of the personal property of one James Nance who died in 1831 was $609.25. He had owned 160 acres of land and had been about an average farmer. Estates such as his, starting from small beginnings, resulted from saving and gradual accumulation.

A rather general distribution of wealth and little actual poverty were characteristics of the whole period. The overseers of the poor who were appointed in each township seem to have had few charges under their care. Court records do not show very many cases of bankruptcy or insolvency. Occasionally, the proceeds of the sale of a man's goods at his death proved to be insufficient to pay his debts, and quite often a man owed nearly as much as his personal estate was worth. Yet, despite their lack of worldly goods, such men were self-

sufficing and independent, not burdens upon society. Most farmers, however, were not so near the border line of poverty. The paying off of all debts usually left a comfortable sum for division among the heirs, who also benefited by the division of the land. An example not far from average is an estate settled in 1850. The wife of the deceased was allowed to keep goods worth $288.87 at appraisers' estimates as her "widow's third" of the estate. The sale of the remainder of the stock and equipment brought $292.43, of which $193.16 was left after all debts were paid. The most important possession, the land, was divided among the heirs.

On the other hand there were very few personal estates amounting to as much as a thousand dollars. By far the largest during the whole period was an estate in 1839, on paper worth over seven thousand dollars not including 1,100 acres of land. The owner of this property had had a good library, several suits of clothes, and considerable money "out at interest." But he too was a farmer, and his pinnacle was not so high as to be above the aspirations of his poorer neighbors. The gap between richest and poorest was not very wide even by the standards of that day.

Occasionally a person came into the county with considerable money, bought a large amount of land, and went in for stock raising. Many others, like Henry File, were able by dogged persistence and hard work to amass considerable landed estates during their lives. But experience proved that land had to be cultivated to bring good returns. Besides this, fattening of stock required much grain. The hiring of a large labor force to add to that of the family group was not very feasible, since any farm hand worth his salt soon became a landowner in

his own right. Large landowners sometimes leased out part of their land, as shown by such inventory items as "300 bu. of rent corn." But there is little to indicate that renting was common. The very cheapness of land militated against much tenantry. It is probable that most of the larger landholders were land poor. For instance, Charles Gilham, who had owned much real estate in the northeast part of the county since early days, sacrificed 80 acres at $1.25 per acre in 1834. One of the largest landowners in the county, Benjamin Johnson, sold 160 acres for $300 in 1845. These and many other sales, often at sacrifice prices, show that mere ownership of land was not considered sufficient in itself.

A chief factor preventing the perpetuation of large estates was the application of the rule of equal inheritance. The property of Henry File when divided among seven sons, two unmarried daughters, and a son-in-law, in 1836, gave each heir only 100 acres of land or the equivalent in other property. Stringer Potts's personal estate in 1840 amounted to over twelve hundred dollars; rather large for the time, but there were twelve heirs to share it. The rearing of large families thus prevented rather effectively the building up of either a permanent landed class or an aristocracy of wealth.

Actual money, never very plentiful, was at times very scarce. One pioneer wrote: "Sometimes for months we were without a dollar." In order to carry on commercial transactions devices were used which ranged from actual barter to extension of long-time credit. Horse trading was a common form of barter and in a way almost a sport. In a circuit court case in 1820, the plaintiff accused the defendant of "falsely and fraudulently, craftily and subtly" deceiving him in a trade. The jury found

for the defendant. However, it is probable that most exchanges made, in stock, grain, fruit, meat, etc., were upon the basis of benefit to both parties. The farmer hauling produce to St. Louis traded part of his load for merchandise to take back with him. Farmers purchased goods from the local merchants on account, and reduced their debts from time to time by cash payments or by bringing in farm produce. The store at Pocahontas, for instance, received eggs, butter, lard, wool, bacon, hides, etc., in return for goods sold. Farmers were thus able to market their products in small quantities and to purchase their needs even in slack times. Doctors, lawyers, and blacksmiths also extended credit to those who used their services.

Farmers quite generally used credit in their dealings with one another. Sometimes accounts ran over a great length of time. An example is that of a purchase of apples for fifteen dollars in 1824. They were not paid for until the death of the creditor in 1839. An estate in 1839 contained a number of interest-bearing notes stating in some cases that they were for apples, bacon, etc. One note specified that it was "to be paid in work at the customary cash price." A farmer who died in 1847 had five "open accounts," four of which were respectively for beef, bacon, coal, and "boarding." An estate of the next year had twenty such accounts, ranging from less than a dollar to nearly twenty and bearing various dates between 1839 and 1847. Of these twenty accounts, the appraisers of the estate classified nineteen as "indifferent." In a day when money was scarce, credit permitted commercial transactions to be carried on without its use. That such credit was often abused was natural.

Many farmers carried on their operations largely with

borrowed capital. One large-scale farmer who died in 1832 had outstanding debts of $1,239.09; yet the settlement of the estate proved him to be solvent. Another in 1840 owed more than nine hundred dollars, most of it in the form of promissory notes. His credit was apparently not hurt by his large borrowing. He had accounts with eight merchants and two doctors. Smaller farmers, too, usually owed money on a few outstanding notes, besides the usual debts to merchants and doctors. A farmer who died in 1847 had fifteen small notes unsettled, the payment of which swallowed up the bulk of the proceeds from the ensuing vendue.

The use of borrowed capital in increasing amounts resulted in considerable litigation to enforce payment of notes. Two cases of October 12, 1841, are rather typical. In one instance, in an action of debt, the creditor sued the debtor and cosignatories for $275 principal and $50.14 interest. The other was an action of assumpsit for $165.15, "notes and interest." Most of the notes of any size had two or more endorsers, so that the gaining of a judgment usually meant payment by someone. Quite a few loans were secured by mortgages on land, especially during the latter half of the period. From 1836 to 1850 the average of mortgages registered in the county was about one a month, and doubtless a great many others were not recorded. The usual court action to secure payment was "on *scire facias*, to foreclose mortgage." There were never a great many of these foreclosures, though their number increased somewhat during the forties.

The lending of money seems to have become a rather lucrative sideline for prosperous farmers, especially during the latter part of the period. Ten and twelve per cent

a year were the usual rates of interest charged, and the fact that many notes mention no rate hints of usury. Many notes were for small amounts, some of them no doubt to pay for produce. Others were due to advances made to friends and relatives as personal favors. Most, however, were investments of surplus cash in order to receive the interest. A small estate in 1828 had five outstanding notes for respectively $10.00, $13.00, $9.50, $5.00 and $22.50. A rich farmer who died in 1839 held over fifty promissory notes. The smaller ones specified no interest, while a few bore twelve per cent. As to the majority of them, the appraisers commented: "Many of the foregoing notes which bear 25 pr ct Interest and carry the proof of usury on the face of them are doubtful, to the amount, it is believed, of $2,000." The interest due on some of the notes amounted to more than the principal. However, within a little over two months, the administrator had collected all but $1,100. By compromising with remaining debtors as to the interest rate, he was able, although losing one lawsuit, to collect $470 more. The actual loss of a little over $600, largely interest, might well have been chalked down as being the result of greed. Settled as it was in hard times, it is remarkable that the estate suffered no larger loss. Another estate, that of a farmer who died in 1848, had forty-six outstanding notes, most of them bearing ten per cent interest. Twenty-one of these, ranging from $4.00 to $300 and constituting a large majority of the total sum, were considered "good." The rest, some dated as early as 1840, were rated as "indifferent" or "desperate." Money lending brought large profits when all went well, but there was always the constant danger of losing the principal.

As compared with private lending, bank loans seem to have been very insignificant in amount. During its brief and troubled existence, the Bank of Edwardsville in Madison County advanced money to Bond County speculators, besides buying directly at least three quarter-sections within the county. The bank failed in 1821, but litigation in connection with its speculations cropped out in Bond County as late as 1837. The Bank of Illinois, also at Edwardsville, does not appear in Bond County records until the latter part of the period. Its loans usually seem to have been on mortgages and were rather cautiously made. One loan on forty acres of land amounted, with interest, to $113.33 by 1844, when the mortgage was foreclosed. An occasional small loan was made without collateral. The place of banking in Bond County's financial structure was a small one during this period. The farmers depended on banks neither as places to invest money nor as places to borrow operating capital.

CONCLUSION

Bond County went through many remarkable changes during its first forty years. The year 1850 does not mark the completion of the evolution, but most of the pioneer's battles had been successfully fought. Nearly all of the land had passed into private hands, improved methods of agriculture had come into use, and transportation and trade had been developed. Law and order prevailed, a democratic local government functioned efficiently, and social relationships had evolved to fit the time and place. Religion played an important role in the lives of the people, an adequate school system was gradually being developed, cultural growth was taking

place, and there were evidences of the coming of broader and more human views. The future held many problems, the solutions of which were not indicated by frontier experience. Nevertheless, a solid foundation had been laid for subsequent development.

THOMAS LANGRELL HARRIS

A Biography by Stephen A. Douglas and James Shields

FOREWORD BY JOHN M. PALMER

SOME time ago I was requested by an old friend in Petersburg, Illinois, to write a biographical sketch of Maj. Thomas L. Harris, a distinguished lawyer, soldier and statesman who lived and died in that town in the stirring days before the Civil War.

While looking for material, I found a brief biography of Major Harris by his close friend and political associate, Stephen A. Douglas, and an authoritative appraisal of his military services by Gen. James Shields,[1] his commanding general during the Mexican War. These are contained in speeches delivered by Senators Douglas and Shields on the floor of the United States Senate a few weeks after Harris' death.[2] As they both knew him in the flesh, they bring him back to us as his contemporaries knew him. With such vital biography as theirs in my hands, I shall act only as their editor.

Senator Douglas said:

Mr. President, for the first time during my public service, it becomes my mournful duty to join in an official tribute of respect and veneration to the memory of a deceased colleague from my own State. The message from the House of Representatives has announced to the Senate the death of Thomas L. Harris, a well-known Repre-

[1] See pp. 216-17 for Isaac N. Arnold's account of an incident in the life of Shields.

[2] These and other tributes to Major Harris in the Senate and House were given on January 17, 1859. See *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong. 2 sess., I, pp. 406-13.

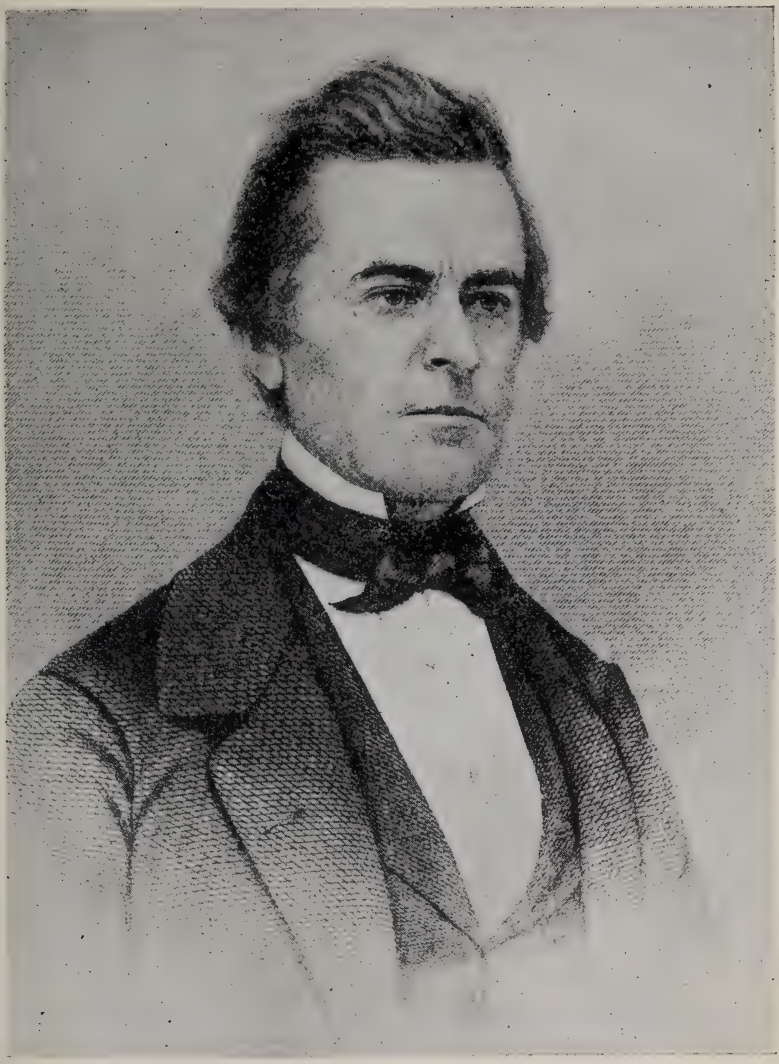
sentative from the State of Illinois. His declining health—the result of severe exposure in the military service of his country—had long since impressed upon his family and immediate friends the stern necessity of preparing their minds and hearts for this afflicting bereavement. . . . He died at his home in Petersburg, Menard county, Illinois, on the 24th of November last [1858], of pulmonary consumption.

The history of Thomas L. Harris may be studied and his example followed with safety and honor by the youth of our country. Born in Norwich, Connecticut, on the 29th of October, 1816, he was only two years of age when his father died, leaving him and a younger brother dependent upon a widowed mother for support. By his own exertions, with the labor of his own hands, he obtained the means to acquire an education, and graduated with credit at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1841. During his senior year in college, he became a student-at-law in the office of Governor Toucey, now Secretary of the Navy, and pursued his studies with assiduity and success. In December, 1841, he removed to Amherst county, Virginia, where he continued the law, while teaching school to obtain the means of support. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar in Virginia, and the same year removed to Petersburg, Menard county, Illinois, where he commenced the practice of his profession, and resided until the period of his death. He rose rapidly in his profession, and had already acquired an enviable reputation as a lawyer, when the Mexican war broke out and called him to another field of duty. In May, 1846, he raised a company of volunteers and was elected their captain. He joined the fourth regiment of Illinois volunteers, under the command of Colonel Baker; and on the 4th of July, of that year, was elected major of the regiment. After reaching Mexico, the absence and sickness of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel devolved the command of the regiment upon Major Harris; and in this position he displayed, in an eminent degree, the qualities of the soldier and the officer—courage, energy, promptitude, and discipline. He soon became conspicuous, winning the applause of his superiors and the confidence and love of those under his command. At Vera Cruz, as well as Cerro Gordo, after the fall of General Shields, when the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel Baker, and that of the regiment upon Major Harris, . . . the gallantry of my friend became historical, as appears by the official dispatches of General Scott, commanding in chief, and those of Major General Patterson and Colonel Baker, under whose immediate orders he acted.

During his absence in Mexico, Major Harris was elected by the people to the Senate of Illinois, notwithstanding the district had previously given a decided majority in opposition to the political party to which he belonged. Returning from the war, surrounded with honors which his fellow-citizens all took pride in awarding to him, and which he bore with a modesty in harmony with his character, he again engaged in the practice of his profession with that earnestness of character which was a part of his nature. But he had become an object of too much public interest to be allowed to remain long in private life. In 1848, he became the nominee of the Democratic party for . . . Congress, in a district which had uniformly given a decided Opposition majority, and was triumphantly elected, upon the distinct issue of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States or Territories. His course in Congress was bold, manly, and unequivocal; always adhering strictly to the principles on which he was elected. He supported, by vote and speech, the legislation of 1850, known as the compromise measures; and never failed to defend the authors of those measures and the principles involved in them, whenever and wherever assailed.

In 1854, when sectional strife raged with its greatest fury, and men of less nerve quailed before the storm, Major Harris again became the candidate of his party for Congress. . . . In this contest, he stood forth the bold and fearless champion of the principles embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska act; and in that distinct issue, he was elected by about two hundred majority over his popular antagonist [Richard Yates] Maintaining in Congress, with ability and fidelity, the principles on which he was elected, he . . . became the chosen leader of his party, by a unanimous vote, in 1856; and, after an arduous and severe canvass, pending the presidential election of that year, he was reëlected by about two thousand majority. The course which Major Harris felt it his duty to pursue on the important and exciting questions which engrossed the attention of Congress during the last session, is familiar to the Senate and the country. Whatever diversity of opinion may exist, here or elsewhere, in regard to the merits of the controversy, all will unite in bearing testimony to the ability, fidelity, and gallantry, with which he maintained and defended his conscientious convictions.

When Congress adjourned, he returned to his home in the beloved State of his adoption, worn down and exhausted by excessive labors, and sinking slowly under the effects of a disease which even his energy and will could no longer resist. He received the unanimous nomination of the Democratic party for reëlection to Con-



Thomas Langrell Harris

gress, and was reëlected on the 2d of last November [three weeks and a day before his death] by about four thousand majority. Contrary to the advice of his physician, and in opposition to the urgent and affectionate remonstrances of his friends, he insisted upon being carried to the polls, that he might pay the last tribute to his political faith, and perform his last duty to his country. He lived to receive complete returns of the election in the entire State, and to write affectionate letters of congratulation to those with whom he had uniformly acted on public questions, and in whose success he cherished a deep and heartfelt interest. While the country at large will mourn the loss of a brave and true man, whose patriotic services in the field and in the councils of the nation gave promise of a brilliant and useful future, we of Illinois, who knew him best in all the relations of life, can alone fully appreciate the extent of our loss.

Major Harris left a wife and four small children, to whom he was tenderly, ardently, devotedly attached. Of them, their affliction, their loss, I will not attempt to speak. God alone can pour consolation into their hearts.

At the conclusion of his address, Senator Douglas offered resolutions of regret and sympathy, and proposed that the Senate adjourn. Senator Shields then spoke:

Mr. President, . . . it only remains for me to touch briefly upon some incidents in the life of the late Thomas L. Harris which occurred, as it were, under my personal observation. . . .

In the spring of 1846, the State of Illinois raised and equipped four gallant regiments of volunteers to serve in the war with Mexico. Thomas L. Harris received the appointment of major in one of these regiments—a regiment which formed a part of the first brigade, which I had the honor to command. In the summer of that year, we sailed for Mexico, and landed at Brazos de Santiago. Upon our arrival in that country, to our great regret, we found it necessary to encamp for a time on the lower Rio Grande to await our supplies. Placed in a low, unhealthy region of country, this temporary camp proved extremely disastrous to our unacclimated troops. Disease and death invaded our ranks and made sad havoc among our raw levies. The sound of the muffled drum, the requiem of some lost companion, was the doleful music that day by day assailed our ears and smote upon our hearts. It was during this trying period that Thomas L. Harris exhibited those qualities of gentleness and humanity that always accompany true courage in a refined and noble nature. He

forgot himself in his devotion to others. Day and night he traversed the camp, from tent to tent, cheering, encouraging, and consoling his suffering companions. It was in the discharge of these humane duties, at that time and place, that he contracted the seeds of that disease which undermined his health and strength, and pursued him to an untimely grave. Upon the arrival of our supplies, we were able to ascend the river and select a more healthy position; and here I was appointed to another command which separated me for a time from that brigade. Early in the spring of 1847, we came together again, at the siege of Vera Cruz. During the pendency of that siege, the deceased acquitted himself with conspicuous courage and gallantry. He commanded a select detachment from the brigade, in a general attack upon the enemy's outposts, and performed the service with resolution, sagacity, and intrepidity.

Late in the evening of the 17th of April of the same year, our brigade of New York and Illinois volunteers halted at the foot of Cerro Gordo, to be ready to take an early part in the expected engagement of the next day. On the ground near where we happened to halt lay three pieces of artillery—a twenty-four pounder and two twenty-four pound howitzers, which the engineers had brought there in the hope of having them placed in battery on the summit of an adjoining hill, to be ready to open upon one of the enemy's batteries next morning. Night had fallen before the attempt could be made; and the darkness of the night, and the precipitous nature of the ascent, made them begin to think of abandoning the undertaking as hopeless and impossible. But the volunteers were not accustomed to consider anything impossible that had been positively ordered to be done. They manifested the utmost anxiety to try their strength on the twenty-four pounder; and as it could do no harm to gratify their wishes, I detailed five hundred men under Major Harris, to make the experiment. The experiment was made; and, to the astonishment of us all, proved completely successful. In the darkness of night that huge cannon was hauled up a rugged acclivity, the very sight of which might have deterred them from even making the attempt, had they been only able to see it in the full light of day. This little battery of three pieces did effective service in the battle next morning. Our historians make mention of this as a remarkable feat, and tell us it was performed the night before the battle; but in justice to the memory of the dead, I take this occasion to tell the Senate and the country by whom it was performed.

Early on the morning of the 18th, our brigade received orders to advance across rugged, broken pedrigal, attack the reserve of the

Mexican army under the immediate command of Santa Anna, and seize the Jalapa road, in order to cut off his retreat to the capital. The movement was executed with rapidity and success. The attack was so sudden and unexpected, that Santa Anna had barely time to effect his escape by flying into the adjoining woods, leaving his carriage, baggage, money, and plate, in the hands of the volunteers. . . . Throughout this sharp and spirited engagement there was no officer or soldier of that brigade who exhibited more dauntless courage and brilliant intrepidity than the gallant man whose untimely loss we this day deplore.

. . . I considered it due to our past relations to refer to these incidents of his life, because they happen to be within my own knowledge. . . . I cannot think it necessary to refer to his public services as a statesman. These are part of the history of the country. . . . It is sufficient to say, that the deceased brought to the conduct of public affairs, on all occasions, the same resolute and noble spirit which he was accustomed to exhibit in the suffering camp or on the field of battle. . . .

Among the relics of Major Harris which are most treasured by his descendants is a sword bearing the inscription: "Presented by the State of Illinois to Major Thomas L. Harris, for services in the late war of the United States with Mexico, and especially for his gallantry at the battle of Cerro Gordo."

THE LADIES' ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATING FEMALES 1833-1937

BY MARGARET KING MOORE

A MEETING of the ladies was called for the purpose of considering the expediency of forming a Society for Educating indigent Females." Thus runs the first entry, under date of October 3, 1833, in the faded ink of an old record book. "After further consideration of the subject, it was Resolved, that it is expedient that a Society be formed."

A committee was appointed to draft a constitution. On the following day the ladies reconvened to organize "The Ladies' Associating for Educating Females" of Jacksonville, Illinois. Soon afterwards, Mrs. Joseph Duncan, whose husband became Governor of Illinois the following year, gave them a five-dollar gold piece, and their work was begun. Since that day the society has preserved an unbroken existence. Thousands of dollars have been collected, expended and administered for the education of girls, a vast indirect influence has been exerted in the educational life not only of Illinois but throughout the Middle West, and approximately two thousand girls have been directly helped in their education.

Today the General Federation of Women's Clubs in America recognizes this organization, under its later

name "The Ladies' Education Society," as its oldest member. On October 4, 1933, there was celebrated in the little city of its birth the one hundredth anniversary of this, the oldest women's club in America.

When "the Ladies" met, on that far-off October day, in the little classroom of the recently opened school for girls, Jacksonville was an eight-year-old hamlet with 600 inhabitants. Its rude log cabins clustered around the open central square or were scattered here and there over the muddy prairies. The school was a block west of the square. Between it and a grassy hilltop a mile away, a solitary cottonwood tree failed to hide from view the first building of Illinois College, opened four years before for the young men of the frontier. Thus, as the women of the village went about the streets, they had always before them the possibility of education for their sons—but they wanted it for their daughters as well.

Not all of these women were of what we consider pioneer stock. When Illinois College was opened, a band of young men had come from Yale to carry on the work of instruction. Some of the men brought their wives, women of education and culture, to whom the lack of educational opportunities for girls in the frontier village brought great anxiety.

Moreover, the newcomers found in Jacksonville one woman already working heart and soul for the improvement of the settlement, Mrs. John Millot Ellis. To her husband, a Presbyterian missionary to the new West, belongs more than to any other one man the credit for inspiring in the hearts of the frontiersmen the desire for a college, and for directing the efforts which brought it to pass. Celeste Ellis, with no less vision of the need of education, had opened a little school for girls, first in

her own home. Later a small building was put up, and a teacher, Miss Sarah Crocker, was brought from the East to assist her.

Thus a beginning had been made. But Mrs. Ellis and her friends were not satisfied. A few girls of the well-to-do families could be taught by Miss Crocker, but all around were poor children, not sufficiently advanced to enter the "Academy" had funds permitted, and farther away were those in lonely farmhouses and occasional straggling communities where no training of any kind could be had.

Illinois, a state only since 1818, had as yet no adequate public school system. Even if schools were built, there were no teachers available—and at this point in their thinking the women had their inspiration. Several of them, meeting at the home of Mrs. Ellis in August, 1832, had decided to try, during the following year, to find some way to educate teachers for the new West, to write to other women of education and intelligence scattered over the state who might help with suggestions or with money, and to meet in October to form an organization to carry out their purpose.

It is a picture worth lingering over—these cultured, intelligent women in the long straight dresses and picturesque bonnets of the thirties, meeting in the rude schoolroom to plan for other less fortunate women and girls of the community. There must have been a touch of sadness in the meeting, for in the summer one of the sudden tragedies of pioneer life—an epidemic of cholera —had swept over the prairies, and in Jacksonville had claimed among its victims Mrs. Ellis and her two children.

But Celeste Ellis had done her work well, and though

bereft of their leader, the women went on with their plans. Had she lived she undoubtedly would have added to her duties as wife, mother, teacher, and mistress of the manse, those of the president of the new organization. As it was, the office was given to Mrs. John Tillson of Hillsboro.

Among those present at this first meeting were Mrs. Edward Beecher, wife of the president of Illinois College, and Mrs. Julian Sturtevant, who had come as a bride when her husband took up his duties as instructor. Mrs. Tillson was the wife of a trustee of the College. Her interest, as well as that of other women present, was shown by the long tiresome journey undertaken to attend the meeting.

To us today, accustomed to good roads and comfortable cars, the difficulties of such a trip would seem almost insurmountable. A later secretary, writing in 1855 for her own generation, described the hardships of travel in those earlier days.

> That was not the age of steam. With the exception of Carrollton, an almost unbroken prairie lay between this place and St. Louis (a distance of ninety miles). Only a house was at each of the points where Manchester, White Hall, Jerseyville, and Monticello are now located. On the east was Springfield, Quincy on the west, Rushville, an infant town, on the north; while here we must stop, as much of the northern part of the state, now laid out in towns and villages, was then the land of the Indian.

Travel was in horse-drawn vehicles, on horseback, or, for places that lay along the Illinois River, twenty miles west of Jacksonville, by river boat.

A simple plan of organization was agreed upon at this meeting. Officers were elected—president, vice-president, secretary, and treasuress—and the directresses, as the members called themselves, agreed to work for two ob-

jects: to find girls who might be educated as teachers, and to collect funds for their tuition. Since distances were so great, it was decided that the business should be left in the hands of the executive committee in Jacksonville, who should hold monthly meetings, while the society as a whole should meet once a year, at the time of the Illinois College Commencement. Contrary to the present custom, the College then held its Commencement in August or September, probably because there was less pressing work on the farms then than earlier in the season. People rode or drove from far and near for the occasion. From the very first, in order that all the directresses might know what was being done even if unable to be present, printed reports of the annual meetings were provided. It is to these reports, as well as to carefully preserved minute books, that we owe our full knowledge of the history of the association.

In view of the present oversupply of teachers, it seems strange that there was ever a time when finding a teacher was the greatest problem of school organization. But that was undoubtedly the situation which these women faced. Getting money was not so difficult as finding anyone who could, by a short course of study, be brought to the point where she might teach. It was not even generally agreed that "females" should teach—another point which seems strange to us, accustomed as we are to seeing elementary school work almost entirely in the hands of women. These and other points are touched upon in the first annual report, printed in 1834, by the press of Robert Goudy in Jacksonville. In this century-old document, the secretary wrote:

> Every age has its distinctive features. Among the most distinctive of the present is a spirit of excitement and activity. In science, in

politics, in religion, it is all the same. . . . It is to be regarded as one of the most encouraging signs of the times that female education is beginning to receive the attention which its importance demands. It would seem that there has always been some doubt as to the place that woman was destined to occupy in the world. Savage and barbarous nations have wrested from her the hope of immortality, consigned her to mental and moral midnight and to the most degrading slavery. In other nations the opinion has prevailed that her mind is incapable of any high degree of improvement—it could not be enriched with the stores of sciences or nerved to any manly thought, and therefore she must be educated as a mere plaything, or perhaps to grace a parlor, or to flutter like an insect in the circle of fashionable amusements. . . . The Rev. Mr. EMERSON, who has done so much to elevate the standard of female education, and who was himself for fifteen years a devoted and successful teacher, gives it as his decided opinion "that nature has peculiarly designed and formed the softer sex for the noble and delightful, although ardous and trying office of teaching." But if there is anything in her *nature* that indicates that instruction is her province, much more is there in her circumstances. That period of human life in which the mind is most susceptible of deep and lasting impressions is almost exclusively under her care and influence. In the relations which she sustains as mother and elder sister, she necessarily becomes a teacher. . . . It has been very justly supposed that for the first ten or fifteen years, female teachers are preferable to any others; and in some parts of our country, scarcely any others are employed in our common schools during the summer months. We might further observe that the circumstances of many are such that they can easily be spared from home to engage in the business of instruction. Add to this the comparative cheapness of the terms on which they can be employed, and does not the voice of wisdom say, let them be educated and qualified for this important work?

As to the cheapness of the terms just mentioned, an interesting comment was quoted from Dr. Beecher in a later report:

Formerly young men taught school for $6 a month. Not so now. The great west is open. The young men are engaged in other ways. Then send women, for they are best suited to the work, and Providence seems to be directing the public mind to them.

The learned doctor further argued:

> Another providential indication is that the accustomed employments of females have been stolen away from them by the introduction of machinery. . . . It is observed that a spirit of impatience is manifesting itself among the female ranks. The offices of males are aspired after, and it may be doubted if there be not danger of a civil war or worse. . . . But here is employment for them and that will meet the difficulty.

So, since men no longer cared to work for six dollars a month while women presumably did, and since it provided a good way to keep the female from invading the province of the male, the men approved of the movement.

It is interesting to see that at the first annual meeting, and in fact at a number of later ones, the gentlemen of the community presided and conducted the business. The women who could brave the dangers and hardships of pioneer life, who could work for the advancement of their sex, who could write clear, concise English which after a century still tells its story well, could not read in public the reports that they had written. Or is it just possible that that was a tactful way of enlisting the sympathy of the men?

The minutes of the first public meeting, as printed in the annual report for 1834, are brief enough to be quoted in entirety:

> The first anniversary of the Ladies' Association for Educating Females was held at Jacksonville, September 18, 1834.
>
> Joel Catlin Esquire in the chair.
>
> The meeting was opened by prayer by the Rev. Thomas Lippencott of Carrollton.
>
> The annual reports of the Secretary and Treasuress were read by the Rev. T. Baldwin of Jacksonville.
>
> 1. On motion of Rev. Mr. Beecher, President of Illinois College, seconded by Mr. Lippencott

Resolved, that these reports be adopted.

2. On motion of Rev. Thornton A. Mills of Frankfort, Kentucky, seconded by Mr. Baldwin,

Resolved, that the favorable circumstances under which the important effort to promote female education is now made, demand of all its friends the most vigorous and untiring devotion.

3. On motion of Wm. Barr Esq. of Jacksonville, seconded by Rev. J. B. Turner of Illinois College

Resolved, that the Ladies' Association for Educating Females commends itself to the statesman and the philanthropist.

The society then proceeded to elect the following officers:

Mrs. C. Tillson, Hillsboro.....President
Miss S. C. Crocker, Jacksonville.....Vice-President
Mrs. C. W. Baldwin, Jacksonville.....Secretary
Mrs. H. Batchelder, Jacksonville.....Treasuress

This and other early reports tell of the difficulties met by the young society. The directresses had, as we have seen, twofold duties: first, to raise funds to help in the venture, and second, to find in their own neighborhood girls who seemed sufficiently promising to be the recipients of the proffered aid. After candidates were chosen, there remained the added difficulty of finding places where they could be trained. Many settlements had no schools; isolated farm families had no opportunity to secure education for their daughters. It was necessary for the directresses to find girls from families who could spare their services, and then, since most of them had little ready money, to look for homes in the larger communities to which they went, where they might earn their board by helping two or three hours a day in the household duties. The financial part of the undertaking seemed, during these earliest days, to be the least difficult, for the first annual report showed receipts dur-

ing the year of $246.40, with expenditures for tuition, books, and stationery of $29.58.

During the next few years, however, continued efforts on the part of the directresses proved availing in finding more suitable material for teachers. At the fifth anniversary meeting, it was reported that five had been helped during the first year, fifteen the second year, thirty-two the third, thirty the fourth, and twenty-five in the fifth year. Several were already teaching, and they in turn furthered the aims of the society by recommending girls among their own pupils who they thought were worthy of assistance. The public schools were still few. Apparently the usual method was for these girls to return to their own communities and teach the younger members of their families at home, gathering in for a small fee such other children as they could find in the neighborhood. One girl wrote that in return for what had been done for her, she was accepting free one out of every three pupils who applied to her.

Many interesting stories are found on the pages of these old reports. In 1838 it was related that a certain very promising girl—who, like all the rest, remains nameless—having earned her own education by great sacrifices, had been compelled to stop her work before the end of the year and return home because of illness in the family.

She wrote of her regret at leaving school, but added:

> There is no school in this place, and will not be any until spring. There are a number of parents who wish me to take charge of their children while I stay, and I thought it would be best to be employed in something every spare hour. The number of children is about twenty; some in the alphabet and some in reading and spelling. I shall feel my responsibility to be very great.

In the report for 1842 we come upon another reference to this girl:

> Since that time, a period of about four years, she has taught almost constantly, with very good acceptance. She was very useful, not only in her school, but also in the Sabbath school, one or two of which she established. She gained access to and interested families who could be reached by no other person. By her interest, energy and economy she purchased land, built a house and placed stock upon it that she might make a comfortable home for her parents and an aged grandmother: Last winter after all this had been done, she died after five days illness. She had nothing to say about her earthly affairs, but was calm and happy in the prospect of death.

It seems not incredible that she should have been "calm and happy in the prospect of death" after four years of such exertion, driven as she was by the double motive of care for her relatives, and the desire to pass on in full measure what the Ladies' Association had done for her. Green be the turf above her.

Other extracts from the fifth anniversary report throw light on the educational situation of the day. The school commissioner of Morgan County—in which Jacksonville is located—published the following statistics:

Number of schools according to returns made in 1837..72
Number of pupils in attendance.....3,894
Number of days in the aggregate.....142,253
Amount paid out of the common fund.....$5,475.20

Five thousand four hundred and seventy five dollars and twenty cents paid for public education in a county including at that time 811 square miles of territory! No wonder that the ladies of Jacksonville felt the need of helping the cause along. The writer commented:

> The *regular* number of pupils in attendance would not exceed half that number; a large proportion of the teachers are males, at least ⅞. There is great room for improvement among the teachers themselves, both morally and intellectually.

Statistics from Sangamon County, next east of Morgan and containing the town of Springfield, then as now the state capital, were also quoted:

> Sangamon, 66 male and 14 female teachers. Probably half if not ⅔ would employ competent female teachers. . . . There is complaint of want of competent teachers. More females would be employed if they could be found.

More need for the Education Society!

One directress wrote that she had got some funds, but she complained of the lack of interest in the cause in general. She said:

> Some decline helping because they do not think it best to give the children of poor families education above their station.

Still another reported:

> We have not required a young lady to pledge herself to teach, only to do her utmost to become an educated woman. In short, we have gone on the principle that educated mothers are what we must have; that those who rock the cradle containing the infant nation must be educated.

More than one of these early reports indicates a critical attitude on the part of the men. According to the record for 1836, the regular speaker expected for the occasion of the annual meeting was unable to be present, and a Mr. Hale, not otherwise identified, made some remarks to fill in the time. His remarks included an expression of regret that the association had $500 in its treasury. He said:

> It is desirable that in benevolent movements means of doing good shall all be employed. It is said of one engaged in a work of kindness that she had done what she could. Now it does not appear that this organization has done all that it could. . . . Only let your directresses and the teachers in these schools in whom you have confidence have discretionary power to receive under the patronage of the society all those whom they deem suitable . . . and your next report will show your society in debt, and I pledge myself your debts shall be paid.

In the next annual report, the secretary explained with some asperity that all their money had been expended; the only reason why it had not been so at the previous meeting was that a draft for $500 had been received the preceding day, and had only just been deposited. She added that they would now see whether the gentlemen who were so anxious to see the society in debt would come to its rescue.

The $500 just referred to was one of a number of contributions received during that period from eastern friends. Through the letters written to relatives and acquaintances by the directresses, and through the interest aroused by the printed reports, auxiliaries had been formed at several points in the East, and assistance came, often at critical periods. Just what form this assistance might take, was not always foreseen. On several occasions gifts of clothing were reported from sewing societies in New England. Miss Catherine Beecher sent one hundred copies of her work on domestic economy. One teacher was sent out, equipped with books for opening a school.

This form of assistance suggests one question which the association was frequently called upon to answer. "Wouldn't it be better," friends asked, "to send out teachers from the East who are already educated, than to go through the slow process of preparing, probably less adequately, the frontier girls for the work?" The answer was always "No." Two reasons were given for this answer; both of them, it would seem, valid. In the first place it was argued that girls who had grown up on the frontier were familiar with the hardships which eastern girls found very trying, and they were better able to adapt themselves to the people than were the easterners.

And secondly, most of the eastern girls who came out, it seems, had in the back of their educated heads one idea: "Object, matrimony." A few experiences of this kind had convinced the Illinois ladies that it was an expensive process to bring out from the East these would-be teachers who soon took permanent positions at the firesides of handsome young frontiersmen.

Of all the gifts received by the association in these early years, the most unexpected was a piano. In 1841, in the list of gifts for the year, appears the simple statement, "A piano, from a lady in Massachusetts."

It would be interesting to accompany this piano on its journey, probably by wagon across New England and New York, down the Ohio River by boat to Cairo, up the Mississippi to St. Louis, on up the Illinois to Naples or Meredosia, then across the muddy prairie roads to Jacksonville, where the ladies received it, together with a bill of $17.87 for its boxing and shipping.

There was nothing to do but pay the bill out of the society's meager funds; when that was done, the ladies must have looked at one another questioningly, wondering what to do with it now that they had it. Music was not a part of the curriculum of the pioneer schools, and few of the schoolrooms had space to spare for an old-fashioned square piano such as this must have been. However the ladies went to work, had it tuned, and succeeded in renting it, reporting in the next year's receipts $7.00 for rent of the piano. It is solemnly referred to as "the piano" for a number of subsequent years, with varying amounts to its credit—$4.00, $3.50, $4.60, and one year, when it was unusually productive, $15. It was apparently tuned once more, for an item, "tuning and mending the piano, $5," appears in 1846. The next year,

1847, brings the final mention of it; the $4.60 it brought in that year seems to have been its final contribution, and research has not revealed to the writer the fate of "the piano."

The tenth annual report contains two items of interest. A total of $3,000 had been expended in the first decade of the society in helping 180 young ladies; an average of less than $20 apiece, which seems a rather reasonable sum for fitting a girl for a life of service. The second point is that the depreciation of the currency and the uncertainty as to what the banks were going to be able to do, were hampering their work. The small amount of money that had been received was being retained until the situation cleared.

One bright spot in the midst of these uncertainties was found in the attitude of the beneficiaries. One of them had even offered to refund the money which she had received when she heard of the condition of the treasury.

The gratitude of those who had been helped appears repeatedly throughout the reports of this trying period. In many cases this gratitude took the form of attempting to carry on the spirit of the organization which had helped them. The girls apparently received for the most part no fixed salary, but were paid by individual families for the tuition of the children. In 1845, when financial difficulties were still continuing, the secretary reported that no applicant had been turned away for lack of funds, and that in turn the girls helped in former years were giving tuition to indigent children in their own neighborhoods. One had assisted nine children in this way during the year.

So the reports go on, year after year, with varying accounts of difficulties met and conquered. One is tempted

to linger over these early days, but not all of the interest of the work lies in its beginnings. We must pause a minute over the twentieth annual report, which gives a summary of the work up to date. Five hundred and thirty-two young ladies had been aided, at an expense of $7,531. Some of these girls were teaching in their own communities; others, with the pioneer spirit which had actuated their parents, had gone farther west to teach in newer settlements which would otherwise be in ignorance. Still others were married and were helping to make the next generation better educated than their own. One of these wrote apologetically to the secretary, as if afraid the society would not approve, saying that she did not feel that her education had been wasted, for her present duties as mother and stepmother seemed to her to require far more knowledge than she had acquired in her preparation for teaching. She was hoping "the ladies will not feel that their money has been wasted."

In this twentieth report the name of the society appears as "The Ladies' Education Society," the name under which the organization has since been known. This action was evidently taken because the word "female" had become distasteful to the ears of the members. At about this same period the "treasuress" became permanently a "treasurer."

Among the lists of donors in the financial statements of the fifties, we find repeatedly the name of "Mrs. Bannister, Newburyport, Mass." Before her marriage, as Zilpah Grant, Mrs. Bannister had been one of the foremost teachers of girls in the East, at one time associated with Mary Lyon. After her marriage, her interest in education still continued; she corresponded regularly with former students of hers who were in one way or

another forwarding such work. Mrs. Emily Adams Bancroft, for sixty years an officer of the society, was one of these pupils, and the recipient of much encouragement and advice from her former teacher.

In 1856 Mrs. Bannister wrote that it seemed to her that the time had come to extend the operation of the society. She said:

> Hitherto you have paid only tuition; can you not now pay board for a few, who have proved themselves capable of teaching, and who have nearly completed their course in some institution, and who cannot safely accomplish the studies of the Senior Class while working out of school to pay for their board? Many at the West, as well [as] at the East, have either broken down or greatly impaired their constitution by studying out of season, or by trying to accomplish too much in a limited time.
>
> They are not only incapacitated for efficient benevolent labor—to educate and save the lost—but they are also subjected to debility and physical suffering while they live. We must not help the young women to destroy themselves; while bearing the yoke in their youth they should learn how to find recreation and rest for themselves, and then they will better know how to lead their pupils daily to intersperse innocent and refreshing amusement with vigorous study.

According to Mrs. Bannister's suggestion, the club decided to pay the board for such as seemed to demand it from a fund given expressly for that purpose, expecting it to be repaid under certain conditions. A little later Mrs. Bannister wrote again, suggesting that it might be well to use the funds available for those who were already teachers of experience, to allow them to leave their work for a time, and go on with their own studies. Before the day of summer schools, extension courses, and other ways in which a teacher may now advance in her profession, this provision must have been a godsend in many cases, especially as the ladies decided to give more than their usual appropriation.

Two years later Mrs. Bannister wrote again:

> You say your society this year dare not receive more. . . . Whatever else stands still, the wheels of time roll on, and the children and youth of this land are fast coming to maturity. For good or evil they will be trained, and society will feel the effect.

To help in carrying out her own good advice, she added that the society was to draw on her for $500.

From then on until her death, Mrs. Bannister sent varying sums, saved from her own long years as a teacher, until $2,500 in all had been given to the society. This money was used as a revolving fund, invested when not all needed for immediate use, added to from time to time by interest paid by its users and by their freewill gifts, until it has become the nucleus of a fund increasingly useful as time has passed.

As an illustration of the growth of this fund, an anecdote from a much later period may be told. On a hot August afternoon, Mrs. A. T. Capps, then treasurer, was called to her door to speak to a plainly dressed, middle-aged couple. After assuring herself that Mrs. Capps was really the person she sought, the woman explained that she had, many years before, been helped by the loan funds of the society. Soon after her graduation she had married, and had told her husband about the loan, which they agreed should be paid. Children came to be fed, clothed, and educated. So the years went on with the debt unpaid, but never forgotten—although from the standpoint of the society it had long been outlawed. Now the youngest daughter had been educated; the children were all married or self-supporting. The couple, now middle-aged, were at last able to fulfill the ambition of many years' standing; they had come to pay, with interest for all the intervening years, the

money that had helped the woman get her own education.

When the Civil War came, many felt that the society should be given up, and that all efforts and all available funds should be used for the Union. There were many reasons why Jacksonville felt strongly on the subject of the war. The first president of Illinois College had been a member of the famous Beecher family, long identified with the abolition movement. Jacksonville had been a station in the underground railroad, and also the home of Richard Yates, the great war Governor of Illinois. General Grant, on his way to the front, had camped on the outskirts of the city. Abraham Lincoln, a friend of many Jacksonville people, had often come to the town from New Salem, or later from Springfield. Carried away by patriotism, many people, including apparently some of the directresses of the society, felt that its work should be given up for war work. The secretary answered, as quoted in the report of the year:

> While the society feels the need of doing what it can for the country's troups, and of assisting their families, yet it feels that it would not be right to give up the cause of education because we are engaged in warfare. Do not the whole people constitute the state, and who will be the people of a quarter of a century hence but those who are now in childhood and youth? Should not these be prepared by a good education to fill well the place of the present generation? And as so many of our youths are exposed to the demoralizing effects of war, should we not do all in our power to counteract these, by spreading abroad the means of a thorough education? A woman of well cultivated mind exerts an influence on husband, father, brother, friend, not easily estimated. As every country needs trained officers in the field, so it needs well trained teachers to take charge of its army of youth.

Refusing to be stampeded, and keeping free from the hysteria of war time, the society went on its way. Be-

cause of pressing public duties and interests, they did give up for a time the annual public meetings, but the printed reports show the work steadily progressing through these troubled years.

In 1865 a change of plan was reported which was evidently the result of discussion of some years past. Those who wished to discontinue the society, probably because of their disinclination to continue financial responsibility, had argued that there was no longer need to pay tuition, because the state was full of free schools. Again the secretary was ready with the answer. It was explained that there were many places with free schools only through the lower grades, where those who wished to be teachers could not secure adequate training. To such the future aim of the society would be to lend money sufficient to meet the expenses of the senior year, which then might be taken away from home at one of the seminaries which went beyond the regular school curriculum. It would seem from the records that the schools most often chosen for this study were the Jacksonville Female Academy, the outgrowth of Mrs. Ellis' little school for girls, Illinois Conference Female College, also located at Jacksonville, and Monticello Seminary, at Godfrey. It may be added that this policy of lending money to girls in their senior year still prevails; many young women, even down to the present, have received loans not exceeding $100, chiefly from the proceeds of the Bannister fund, to help them with the expenses of their last year.

In 1872 the society took a step as regards organization which put it in the way of increased usefulness for the future. It was incorporated under the laws of Illinois, so that it might receive legacies. Only one year later,

Mrs. Joshua Moore, a member of many years' standing, died, leaving a bequest of $5,000, the largest single gift the club has ever had. Later Mrs. Duncan, the donor of the original five-dollar gold piece, left $500, and Mrs. Sarah Hale, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, left $3,000. Since then bequests ranging from $50 to $1,000 have been left by Mrs. C. M. Dewey, Mrs. Phoebe Strawn, Mrs. Delia Wadsworth, Mrs. W. D. Sanders, Miss Margaret Catlin, and Mrs. Brayton Smith, all long-time members of the organization or friends whose interest persisted through the years. The number and size of these gifts, most of them from women in moderate circumstances, show the depth of their interest in the work of education.

Since its incorporation, the form of the organization has remained unchanged. The membership is limited to twelve, and is for life. Only when a member dies, or, as has happened in rare instances, removes from the city, is a new member elected. The choice is made most carefully and thoughtfully by the remaining members, and must be unanimous. A reader conversant with the development of Jacksonville, of central Illinois, or indeed of the Middle West, would find on the list of past members many familiar names. Of the present board, several represent the second or even the third generation of their families to hold membership in the society.

One reason why the Ladies' Education Society has lived to celebrate its centennial is undoubtedly that it has endeavored to grow old gracefully, and to adapt itself to changing conditions. The reports for the last quarter of a century, although perhaps less interesting reading than those of earlier days, since they tell us of a world with which we are familiar, show again and again

the desire to be useful, and to employ the funds of the club to the best advantage. Such statements as the following, "Although it was not the original intention of the society," "Because of changed conditions," etc., preface many decisions that have led to greater usefulness.

A secretary, as long ago as the early nineties, directed attention to the fact that housework and teaching, the only two gainful employments open to women at the time the society began its work, had long been supplemented by other occupations. In the year in which she wrote, one beneficiary had entered business, one had taken up newspaper work, and one, while teaching, had accepted a position in faraway Hawaii. A later report spoke of a well-known woman physician on the Pacific coast, who during her last year at medical school would have been compelled to give up her ambitions, had it not been for aid given by the Ladies' Education Society. Such instances could be increased many-fold now, and in great variety. It is not only after the completion of their work that we find the beneficiaries scattered over the country; during their years of study as well, the records show them attending schools in the East, the West, the North, and the South, as best suited their circumstances and their needs. From elementary school to seminary, from seminary to college, on to the work of the university and the professional school, the influence of the society has reached.

When the oldest women's club in America honored Celeste Ellis and her associates at its centennial, it was in far different circumstances from any which those pioneer women could have imagined. Perhaps they would not have approved of much in our modern life; perhaps

some of the present-day activities of "females" would have seemed to them unwomanly. Yet when we think of the courage and the resourcefulness of these women of the prairies, we believe that they would have rejoiced in the widening opportunities for those of their own sex.

Surely honor is due them for the wisdom with which they planned their organization. Working to improve conditions of their own time and their own surroundings, they laid the foundations of their society so broad and deep that hundreds of girls and women have profited all down through the century. They made their plan so simple and so adaptable that through the changes of a hundred years it might still survive with its original purpose unchanged—a women's organization, working for the betterment of women.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHICAGO HISTORY FROM PEORIA COUNTY RECORDS

BY ERNEST E. EAST

Part One*

SHADOWS

SPLASHED with the red of human blood was the painful trail over which civilization trod for 150 years before Chicago became an organized political division.

Illicit traders left traces of their visits before the gentle Père Jacques Marquette, the missionary priest who held aloft the Cross in the hope of Christianizing the savage, came in company with Louis Jolliet, the explorer, cartographer and merchant seeking the outlet of the mysterious "Missipi," and new paths of conquest for the glory of France—and of Jolliet. The exultant Jesuit's inconquerable will thrashed his frail body forward until cold and fatigue and disease left him lifeless on the cheerless shore of Lake Michigan. Rewards which Jolliet expected for his exploits were denied him.

The bold and imperious Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Salle looked last on life as a mutineer's musket blasted a ball into his brain. Henri de Tonti, Francois de la Forest, Pierre de Liette and others labored long without

* The second and concluding part of this paper will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

profit in the Illinois country. On water highways from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, priest and soldier and trader were among victims of tomahawk, flinted arrow point or torture fire. French brandy, Catholicism and Algonkin vied with British rum, Protestantism and Iroquois for the prize of the Indian trade. Hideous butchery by savage allies on both sides marked the struggle.

Aggressions by British traders led to the inevitable national conflict of arms. Southern British colonists pressed westward toward the lower Mississippi. Traders and land-seekers descended the Ohio River toward French settlements in the West. Albany merchants reached out into the Great Lakes region. France at home was engrossed with European wars and neglected the adequate reinforcement of her colonials in North America. Canada and the raw empire in the West fell to the British.

The brief British regime in the Illinois country ended practically with the conquest by Col. George Rogers Clark, but on the Great Lakes frontier British diplomacy continued to encourage and stiffen Indian resistance to the encroachments of the American trader and agriculturist. Savage hosts trailed to Fort Malden to receive presents offered in exchange for British adherence, if not for American scalps.

Chicago's strategic geographical situation was an old story when John Kinzie established his trading house in the vicinity of the first Fort Dearborn. Jolliet had told Europe about it a century and a quarter earlier. He proposed a canal to link the Chicago River with the Mississippi.

Even the French-Negro, Jean Baptiste Point Sable,

who preceded Kinzie by more than twenty years, was no pioneer. He merely revived the trade in furs and Indian goods that languished intermittently from the day when Jolliet conducted a personal prospecting tour for new marts among savages of lower Lake Michigan.

It is unfortunate that Point Sable inherited the dusky skin of his mother, but some comfort should be found in the probability that his language and faith were those of his father, if, as seems likely, he was sired by a French-Canadian. He spoke French and he could write his initials, which was quite enough to carry on his business of farming, milling and pork-slaughtering at Chicago. And when he died on August 28, 1818, at Saint Charles in Missouri Territory, he found a resting-place in the cemetery of Saint Charles Borromeo Church—a privilege reserved to the faithful.

Jean la Lime, having bought Point Sable's establishment consisting of a number of buildings, lived until the day of his knife battle with Trader John Kinzie when he came off second-best. Then appeared the mysterious Le Mai, identified by Mrs. John H. Kinzie in her *Wau-Bun* as the former owner of the Kinzie house. After only a few years he sold to Kinzie.

The Indian massacre at Fort Dearborn well-nigh destroyed the business of Kinzie. In the same year the trading enterprise of Kinzie, Forsyth and Company on Peoria Lake, conducted by the Chicagoan's half-brother, Thomas Forsyth, was ruined. But these depredations served only to suspend trading operations at Chicago. Kinzie came back, hoping to mend his fortune. Financially stronger interests followed him to bid for the Indian trade.

Settlement in Illinois now was moving northward and

civil government enveloped the once isolated French-Indian village of Chicago.

GENESIS OF GOVERNMENT

The territory of Chicago, for purposes of county government, was attached to Peoria County by an act of the Illinois General Assembly, approved on January 13, 1825. It remained so attached until Cook County was organized under the act of January 15, 1831.

Before 1825, Fort Dearborn and Chicago were attached successively to the counties of St. Clair, Madison, Edwards, Crawford, Clark, Pike and Fulton. The French village of Peorias, its successor, Fort Clark, and finally, Peoria, similarly were attached to St. Clair, Madison, Pike and Fulton.

Section eight of the act erecting Peoria County provided: "*Be it further enacted*, That all that tract of country north of said Peoria County, and of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, be, and the same is hereby attached to said county, for all county purposes."

The boundaries of Peoria County and attached territory embraced the far-flung spaces north of Fulton County, east of the Mississippi River, south of the northern Illinois boundary line, west of Lake Michigan and northward of the Kankakee and Illinois rivers, except the counties of Henry and Knox. Peoria also included the present county of Tazewell and parts of Mason, Logan, McLean, Woodford, Marshall and Putnam counties. Its area in square miles was equal to that of the Netherlands. Its population in 1825 was 1,236, according to the census taken by John L. Bogardus for the commissioners' court of Peoria County.

A separate act of the Illinois General Assembly, approved January 13, 1825, erected the county of Putnam and to it attached the unorganized territory north of the Kankakee River, notwithstanding this area, including Chicago, was attached to Peoria by another act of the same date.

This apparent dual jurisdiction caused some confusion among writers of published works. Chicago never was actually attached to Putnam County because citizens of that community were unable or unwilling to organize under the act of 1825.

Putnam was attached to Peoria County until it was organized under a second act of the General Assembly approved January 15, 1831. The second act appears to have contained no repealer of the first. Section one of the act of 1831 erecting Putnam and other counties, established Cook County, fixed its boundaries, and designated Chicago as the seat of justice.

Public records of Putnam County printed in Spencer Ellsworth's *Records of the Olden Time*, show that the first officers of Putnam County were elected in March, 1831. Sixty-six persons voted at Peoria County's first election on March 7, 1825, but no Chicagoan appears to have exercised his right of franchise. Probably on account of the distance, no Chicago resident was summoned for jury service in the six years Chicago Precinct was part of Peoria, although men living in other attached territory nearby were called. Attorney Charles Ballance in his *History of Peoria* related that he rode on horseback from Peoria to Chicago in 1833 in four and a half days. Probably that was good time. The soft, untiled prairies made going slow except in dry weather. Early roads were mostly Indian "traces."

Chicago's first school land trustees were appointed by Peoria County commissioners. Suits at law, including four divorce cases, were filed in the Peoria County circuit court, and estates of Chicago's deceased property owners, numbering five, were administered in the probate court of Peoria County.

Inhabitants of Chicago applied to commissioners of Peoria for permits to operate ferries and taverns. Their property was assessed for payment of taxes to Peoria County and their local elections were conducted by judges appointed by commissioners of Peoria. Not less than fourteen Chicago marriages were solemnized between 1825 and 1831; the original certificates are preserved in the Peoria County clerk's office. Justice J. B. Beaubien performed five; Justice John Kinzie, four; the Rev. William See, three, and the Rev. Isaac Scarritt, two.

Chicago first broke into the official news of Peoria County on September 6, 1825, when Archibald Clybourn [spelled Claibourne in the record] was appointed constable. Clybourn, therefore, was one of the first, if not the first local police officer of Chicago. Boundaries of his beat were not fixed, but if he took the appointment literally—the record reads: "in and for the County of Peoria"—then he had to hoof it from Lake Michigan over to Galena, on the Mississippi River; down the Mississippi to the vicinity of Oquawka, now in Henderson County; eastward to Peoria Lake; up the Illinois and Kankakee rivers and northward on the eastern state boundary line to Lake Michigan.

At the December term, 1825, Peoria County commissioners established Chicago Precinct and laid out its boundaries. The record read:

Ordered, that the following shall be the election precincts in Peoria County, first precinct to include all that part of the county east of the mouth of the La Page River where it empties its waters into the Aux Plain, and it is further ordered that the election shall be held at the agency house (or Cobweb hall), and it is further ordered that the following persons be appointed judges of all general and Special Elections for said Precinct which shall be known and distinguished as Chicago Precinct to wit Alx Wolcott, John Kinzie & J. B. Beaubien, Judges.

Cobweb Hall, or Cobweb Castle, as it was also called, was the agency house provided by the United States government for the Indian agent. It was christened when Dr. Alexander Wolcott lived there as a bachelor. Mrs. John H. Kinzie described the agency house in *Wau-Bun*.

Peoria County commissioners created LaSalle Precinct in June, 1827, and the boundaries of Chicago Precinct were newly defined. The record read:

Ordered that the following comprise the election districts of Peoria County to wit. first district, all that part of Peoria County North & East of Sand River and that all general and special elections be held at the agency house at Chicago and that John Kinzie, Alexander Wolcott and John B. Beaubien be and they are hereby appointed judges thereof and that said district be designated by the name of Chicago district.

Chicago voters participated in at least nine elections while the village remained in Peoria County. The first, a general election held at Cobweb Castle, brought 36 voters to the polls. On the same day, Peoria Precinct cast 81 votes; Mackinaw Precinct, 51 votes; and Fever River Precinct [Galena], 202 votes.

Judges and clerks received pay for one election in 1827 for which no other record has been found.

David Hunter and Henley Clybourn were elected constables at a special election on May 11, 1828. Nine votes were cast.

Thirty-three citizens expressed preference for a member of Congress, members of the General Assembly, and county officers on August 4, 1828.

One justice of the peace and two constables were elected on August 20, 1828. Alexander Doyle was elected justice with twenty votes, while Archibald Clybourn polled thirteen. David Hunter and Henley Clybourn were again chosen constables at this time. If a legal reason existed for a second election for constable so closely following the May election, it was not recorded. Each of the foregoing elections was held at the agency house but at the presidential election on November 3, 1828, the house of John B. Beaubien was the polling place. Forty votes were cast.

One officer of Peoria County and one candidate for office assisted in conducting the last election held in 1828. Norman Hyde, judge of probate, was one of the election judges, and Orin Hamlin, who appears to have been elected sheriff on that date, served as clerk. Hyde was allowed sixteen dollars for his service which included a dollar for attendance at the polls and the remainder for taking the poll list to the county seat. John K. Clark received a similar sum for serving as messenger in 1826, Alexander Robinson in 1827 and Henley Clybourn in 1828. In 1832 the Rev. Jesse Walker was allowed sixteen dollars for having transported the poll list in 1830.

Three elections were held in 1830, the first on July 24 when a special election for justice of the peace and constable brought 56 citizens to the house of James Kinzie to register their votes. John S. C. Hogan defeated Archibald Clybourn for justice, 33 to 22. Horatio Smith received 32 votes for constable to 21 for Russell Rose.

Only 32 men turned out for the general election on August 2, 1830. The last election on record in the Chicago district of Peoria County is that of November 25, 1830, for justice of the peace. Only 26 votes were cast. Stephen Forbes received 18 votes and the Rev. William See polled 8.

Fourteen Chicagoans were assessed for payment of county tax in 1825, the whole precinct assessment amounting to $9,047. Only personal property appears to have been assessed and the tax amounted to one per cent. John Crafts was assessed on $5,000, but this doubtless was property of the American Fur Company. The whole assessment in the county was $30,455.50.

Illinois law governing attached territory provided that persons living in such territory might not be taxed for erection of public buildings. Chicago appears to have made no general protest against the county tax but in Galena it was different. There the lead miners refused to pay the tax. Sheriff Samuel Fulton in 1826 reported 204 persons in the Fever River Precinct delinquent in tax payment.

When Chicago litigants or others having business with the county went to Peoria, they found the court and other officers holding forth in a log courthouse. The cabin of Joseph Ogee, French-Indian, was used for the first sitting of the county commissioners' court, and for two sittings of the circuit court, November, 1825, and May, 1826. The owner received a dollar from the county for each day's use.

The record shows the courthouse owner was the first to be indicted by the first grand jury. He was the first to plead guilty to a criminal charge and he was the first to pay a fine. Ogee was charged with an "affray," which

commonly meant a fist or knife battle. His fine was one cent. Ogee also was the first to be sworn as court interpreter. He interpreted during the trial of Nomaque, a Potawatomi charged with knifing to death Pierre Landre, a Frenchman. Nomaque was the first to be tried for murder in a day when Indians probably outnumbered whites in the vicinity of Peoria Lake.

Louis Buisson, an Indian trader, rented his cabin to the county for the use of the courts in the fall of 1826, in 1827, and in 1828. This probably was the cabin formerly owned by Ogee.

In 1829 the county purchased of John Hamlin a log house formerly occupied by Simon Crozier as a store, and here court was held until the county erected a brick and stone courthouse in 1835-1836.

John York Sawyer presided at the first three sittings of the circuit court, November, 1825, and May and November, 1826. Samuel D. Lockwood was judge for three terms, followed by Richard M. Young who was on the bench when Chicago became part of Cook County.

JOHN CRAFTS, GENTLEMAN

The best dressed bachelor in Chicago when the village became a precinct of Peoria County was John Crafts, superintendent of the American Fur Company.

Crafts died at Chicago before September 20, 1825, and his personal effects were sold at auction on June 1, 1826. His wardrobe contained 12 pairs of pantaloons, including 1 of "fine blue cloth" which sold for $8.25; 2 of "sattinett" and others of white linen and materials less esteemed. Matching the fine blue cloth pantaloons was a fine frock coat which brought $22. The bachelor trader

had a blue cloth surtout, another blue coat, and a plaid check. Listed also were 6 waistcoats—2 of white material, 1 figured, 2 of black silk and 1 of blue cloth; 1 swan's down vest; and 1 striped cotton morning gown.

Purchasers, whose names were not stated, bid also on a beaver hat, 3 "fine ruffle linen shirts," 2 other linen and 3 cotton shirts, 4 blue cotton shirts, 8 flannel shirts, red flannel drawers, a pair of silk stockings, a pair of gloves, 6 white cravats, 4 figured handkerchiefs, 3 blue silk handkerchiefs, 2 silk madras handkerchiefs, a drab capot, a gray worsted cap, 1 pair of "fine" pumps, 3 pairs of boots, fur gloves, 14 pairs of woolen socks, 3 pairs of cotton socks, 2 stocking neck shirts and 2 pairs of stocking neck drawers.

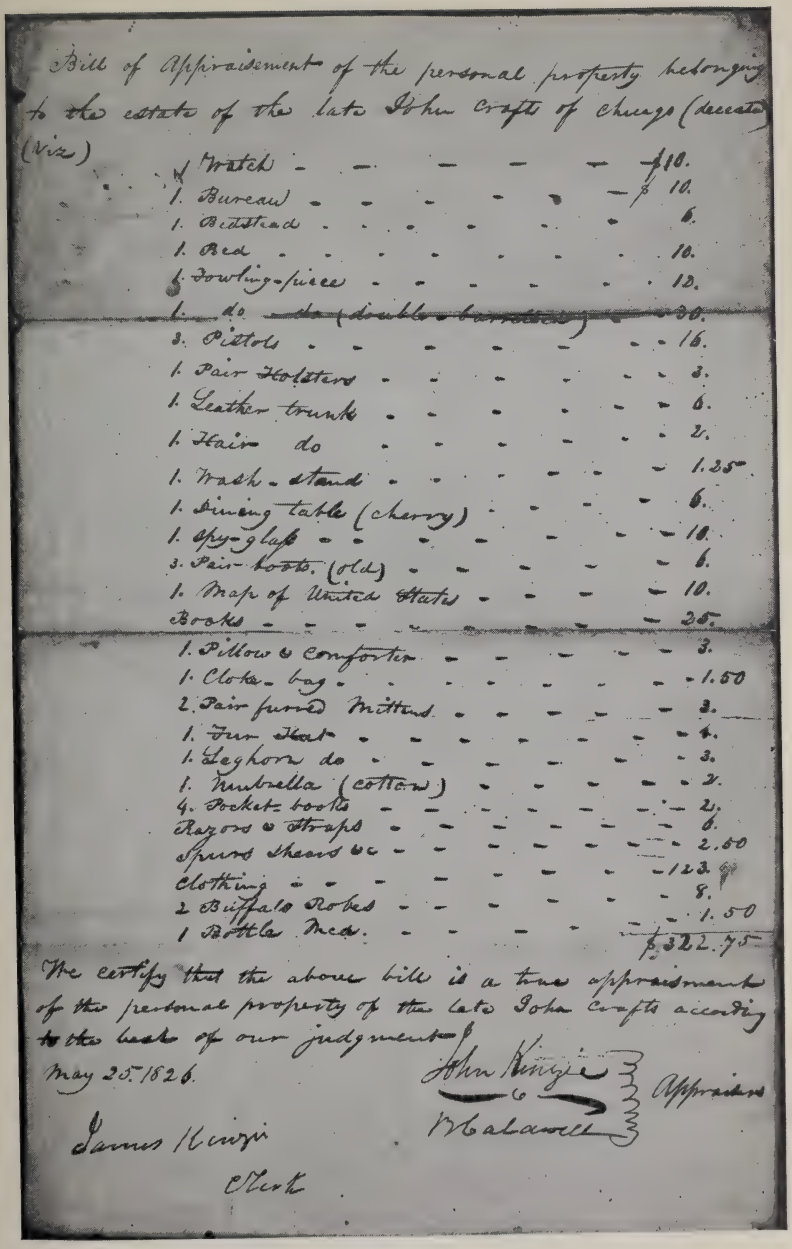
One mysterious item appears in the bachelor's wardrobe. It was listed as "1 Lady's Leghorne Hat" which sold for $7.00.

Crafts must have worn a periwig—at least one was offered at auction and sold for $1.50. He had a set of "raizors" and straps, an umbrella and a silver watch.

Of firearms the trader owned a brace of horseman's pistols with holsters which brought $16, a "fine" double barreled gun which sold for $33.25, and a "fine" single barreled gun which was bid in at $16.

A map of the United States brought $15. His library contained twelve volumes of "French Books" which were not listed by title. He had also a lot of English books, including a two-volume dictionary.

A bedstead, feather bed, quilt, pillowcases, sheets, tablecloth, a bureau, washstand, cherry table, a leather trunk, a hair trunk, and a pair of window curtains were among the furnishings of the bachelor's quarters. A spyglass, a bottle of "Swain's Panacia," and two buffalo



Bill of Appraisement of the personal property belonging to the estate of the late John Crafts of Chesterfield (deceased) (Viz)

1 Watch	$10.
1. Bureau	10.
1. Bedstead	6.
1. Bed	10.
1. Bowling-piece	12.
1. do do (double barrelled)	30.
3. Pistols	16.
1. Pair Holsters	3.
1. Leather trunk	6.
1. Hair do	2.
1. Wash-stand	1.25
1. Dining table (cherry)	6.
1. Spy-glass	10.
3. Pair boots (old)	6.
1. Map of United States	10.
Books	25.
1. Pillow & Comforter	3.
1. Cloke-bag	1.50
2. Pair furred Mittens	3.
1. Fur Hat	4.
1. Leghorn do	3.
1. Umbrella (cotton)	2.
4. Pocket-books	2.
Razors & Straps	6.
Spurs Shears &c	2.50
Clothing	123.
2 Buffalo Robes	8.
1 Bottle Med.	1.50
	$322.75

We certify that the above bill is a true appraisement of the personal property of the late John Crafts according to the best of our judgment

May 25. 1826.

John Kingsley
Wm Cadwell
Appraisers

James Kingsley
Clerk

BILL OF APPRAISEMENT, CRAFTS ESTATE

robes were also listed.

The sale bill was neatly written by Gurdon S. Hubbard, clerk, who with Alexander Wolcott, Jr., the administrator, affixed his signature to the document.

An earlier appraisement of the personal property of Crafts underestimated the value of the estate at $322.75. One of the appraisers was Billy Caldwell, the half-breed chief, who signed "B. Caldwell." John Kinzie was the second appraiser, and James Kinzie the clerk.

The *Detroit Gazette* of September 20, 1825, printed the following: "Died, Recently at Chicago, Mr. John Crafts, Merchant. Mr. Crafts was known to most of our fellow citizens and his upright character and pleasing demeanor had endeared him to all his acquaintances."

At Peoria on April 24, 1826, Wolcott was appointed administrator of the estate and nearly two years later filed his account in probate court, showing receipts of $9,066.51 and disbursements of $7,612.26, leaving $1,454.25 in cash for distribution. Disbursements included notes in favor of the estate which had already been turned over to Crafts's heirs. Wolcott previously had informed relatives in the East of Crafts's death and at their request acted as administrator.

The estate received $2,500 from the American Fur Company in New York—profits due Crafts as his share on the Chicago outfit for 1825-1826. The award was made by Thomas Addis Emmet, selected as arbiter in the case. Heirs received three notes of David Stone and one of Shubael Conant aggregating $2,679.67. The estate received $2,208 on the note of Robert Stuart, agent of the American Fur Company.

Crafts's principal obligations included his note to James Kinzie amounting with interest to $1,074; $860

to Wolcott; and $784 to Alexander Robinson, Indian chief.

The bachelor trader probably came from New Hampshire or Massachusetts. His mother, Esther, was widowed and remarried to Samuel Mead of Walpole, New Hampshire. Surviving Crafts also were his sister, Esther, wife of Ebonezer Morse of Walpole, New Hampshire; four half sisters: Hannah M., wife of Phineas Handerson, Chesterfield, Massachusetts; Nancy, wife of Ephraim Holland, Boston; Caroline Mead, Walpole, New Hampshire; and Harriett Mead, Boston; and one half brother, Samuel Mead, Boston. The court directed that each heir should receive $242.37 of the undistributed cash.

Names of all eleven relatives were signed to a document authorizing Wolcott to act as administrator.

A letter of Samuel Mead to Wolcott at Chicago, accompanying legal documents, was mailed at Boston on January 2, 1826, and directed "via Fort Wayne, Indiana." The postage collectible was fifty cents.

On the law relating to heirship, Wolcott received an opinion from Governor Cass, evidently Lewis Cass, according to a letter which the administrator wrote to Judge Hyde on July 30, 1827. "I have been so much out of health since my return from the East that I have not been able to go down to Fort Clark as was agreed on for the final settlement of Mr. Crafts estate," wrote Wolcott to Hyde on November 12, 1827.

Estate papers furnish no hint of the cause of Crafts's death. If Doctor Wolcott attended him in illness, the physician filed no claim. Neither preacher nor gravedigger left a record of burial.

WILLIAM HENRY WALLACE

His mother became the chief biographer of William Henry Wallace, well-to-do Scotch trader who appears to have been established at Chicago only a little more than one year before death struck him. In the probate court files at Peoria is the affidavit of Sarah Kennedy Wallace, filed one year after the trader's death early in 1827. The document was intended as proof of heirship. It accomplishes this in a manner to delight the researcher.

Supplementing the family history furnished by Mrs. Wallace are numerous estate documents disclosing business transactions between Trader Wallace, or his administrator, and more than fifty inhabitants of the village and its vicinity.

In a trunk containing personal effects William Henry Wallace left at death $539.75 in specie, and when his stock of merchandise was sold it brought $4,534.24. His net estate was $1,180.54¼.

Wallace maintained his trading establishment at Hardscrabble on the south branch of the Chicago River in a house rented of Antoine Ouilmette. He is not listed among the taxables of Chicago Precinct in 1825 but was taxed $20 in 1826. Like John Crafts he was a bachelor.

Upon her oath before George Pike, judge of the King's Bench in Montreal on March 18, 1828, Sarah Kennedy Wallace testified that she was the mother of William Henry Wallace. She first described herself as the widow of William Wallace, who had been a shoemaker of Montreal.

The parents were married in New York City on August 4, 1785. At Schenectady on January 31, 1787, their first child—Mary Hamilton Wallace—was born;

she became the wife of John Humphrey, grocer, of Albany, New York. Soon after their daughter's birth, William and Sarah Kennedy Wallace removed to Montreal and there on February 9, 1790, William Henry Wallace, later of Chicago, arrived. Two other sons were born, John Kennedy Wallace, May 26, 1792, and Hugh McAdam Wallace in May, 1794. The mother testified that her sons were baptized by the Reverend Mr. Young at Montreal. Attached was the statement of Levesque, Monk, and Morrogh, joint prothonotaries of the Court of King's Bench, certifying that the register of baptisms by the Reverend Mr. Young had been mislaid or never had been deposited in the archives. Mrs. Wallace furnished the information that her husband was drowned in the Mohawk River in 1813.

William Henry Wallace went into the service of the Southwest Company about 1819, his mother stated. She understood he died at Detroit but other evidence makes it appear certain that he died at Chicago.

Simon Clarke and Andrew Allen furnished statements supporting the affidavit of Mrs. Wallace concerning the residence of W. H. Wallace in Montreal.

Preserved in the Peoria probate court files is an instrument in the handwriting of Wallace dated "Chicago River," December 23, 1825, in which Martin Vansickle, who signed by his mark, was bound to serve "me" for a term of one month for ten dollars. The signature of Wallace is lacking, however.

Wallace did sign two other engagements at Chicago, one with Glode Laframbois, dated May 1, 1826, and the second with Jean Baptiste Lafortune, executed June 5, 1826. Each Frenchman hired as interpreter for a term of one year. The earlier contract read as follows:

Before the subscriber came and appeared Mr. Glode Laframbois who does here voluntarily engadge to serve Wm. H. Wallace in the Capacity of Enterpreter for the Term of one year from this date the said Glode Laframbois does further agree to do all in his power for him keep his Secrets, not to allow any of his property to be destroyed within his knowledge or taken away without giving a faithful account for the same. In consideration for Such service the said Wm. H. Wallace does Engadge to pay unto said Mr. Glode Laframbois the sum of two hundred dollars at the Experation of his time.

Laframbois signed by his mark as also did Lafortune.

At Detroit in July and August, 1826, Wallace made engagements with Morice Lozon, Clemon Lozon, John B. Bersier and Augustin Bordenois. Each engagé agreed "to go to Chicago with the said Wallace" and to perform such labor as might be required of him. Each signed by his mark. The contract with Morice Lozon was executed by William Brewster, merchant of Detroit, for Wallace. Franklin Brewster was the witness. Each of the other three engagements was personally signed by Wallace with William Brewster as witness. The term of each contract extended to June 1, 1827. Bordenois was to receive $70; Clemon Lozon, $75; Bersier, $80; and Morice Lozon, $140. The latter's contract provided that he should "trade and traffic with the Indians"—a provision which was lacking in the other three engagements.

Wallace was with the expedition sent by John Jacob Astor to the Columbia River, according to Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard. He was in charge of crews when Hubbard left Montreal to join the American Fur Company as clerk in 1818. Wallace was described by Hubbard as a "strict disciplinarian, with a powerful will and of undaunted courage."

Wallace appears to have suffered a prolonged illness in Montreal. Among his papers was a statement from

Robert Nelson, surgeon, for "medicines, attendence, dressings &c, from Feb. 8, 1815 till Nov. 4th," and "from Nov. 7th till June 16th, 1816." The bill was fifteen pounds. The patient was credited with three pounds on account.

Goods priced at $2,388.68 were purchased by Wallace on September 3, 1825, for his Chicago enterprise. William Brewster of Detroit was the seller. Wallace paid cash of $1,168.73. The schooner *Pilot* carried Wallace's goods in seventy-two barrels to Chicago. A Brewster letter of later date indicates Captain Keith was master of the *Pilot*. Wallace made additional purchases of Brewster until by January 30, 1826, his balance amounted to $3,121.07. The Chicago trader delivered a lot of furs and peltries which Brewster sold for $5,662.50, leaving a balance in favor of Wallace amounting to $2,241.47 for which Brewster gave his note.

The trader seems soon to have depleted his stock, for on August 31, 1826, he bought at Detroit goods priced at $5,228.08. He made a cash payment of $2,540. The balance was payable on June of the following year. The invoice listed strouds and other cloth, blankets, turkey red and silk handkerchiefs, fox tail feathers, hawk bells, scalping knives, rifle flints, playing cards, shot, powder, tobacco, snuff, axes, tomahawks, animal traps, groceries, pork, highwines, whisky, tools, cooking utensils and numerous other articles.

All was not profit and security in the Indian trade at Chicago, however, if Brewster correctly read the signs. Joseph Bertrand of St. Joseph carried a letter which Brewster wrote to Wallace on November 29, 1825, regarding business prospects in the Indian country and added this postscript: "Keep yourself on your gard as

you are flanked by enimies on every side, and if they can get hold of you in any way, they will do it, either by fair or fowl means. Threats are spontainiously made, such as seazing your Goods &c &c. Look out for them." Whether his "enimies" beset him, the record does not disclose. Trader Wallace did not vote at the August general election, having been in Detroit on a business trip.

Illness that seized Wallace on January 20, 1827, appears to have been fatal. Dr. Alexander Wolcott visited him on that day and furnished medicine and "advice" for which he charged a fee of five dollars. The physician called again on January 23 and lastly on March 2, to attend the trader. Wolcott furnished board for Wallace's men for five weeks. For all this service he later collected ninety-seven dollars.

Death probably came to Wallace on or soon after March 2. At Detroit Brewster had word of his customer's death on or before March 22 and sent Franklin Brewster and Morice Lozon on horseback to Chicago for the purpose of "attending to the concern of Wallace after his death."

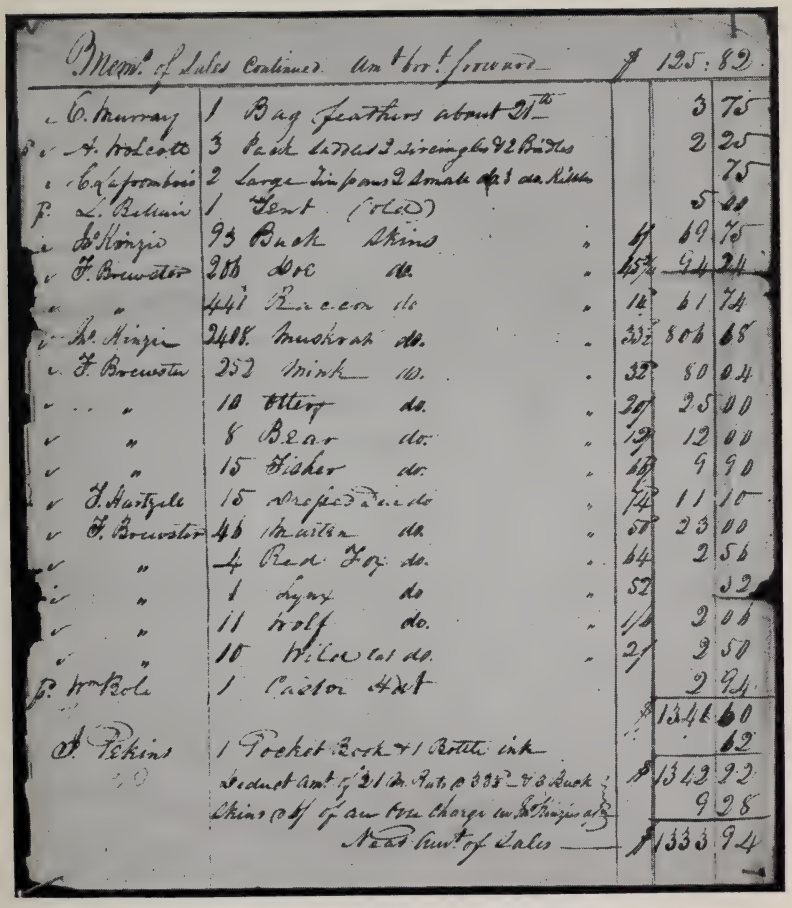
Isaac Perkins, public administrator of Peoria County, then a resident of Mackinaw in the newly created Tazewell County, went before Probate Judge Hyde at Peoria on April 9 and furnished evidence of the death of Wallace. The decedent having no relatives in Illinois, Perkins was appointed administrator. The administrator filed his account May 19, showing he had received cash and notes amounting to $5,304.66½ from public sale of Wallace's property and accounts due the trader. He had expended $4,124.12¼, leaving a balance due the estate of $1,180.54¼. William Brewster was the chief creditor with a claim of $2,878.29.

Appraisers appointed by the court, Alexander Wolcott, Jr., James Kinzie and J. B. Beaubien, filed two reports, one of appraisement made April 25 when they found property estimated to be worth $3,800.48. The second appraisement was dated May 9 when they put a value of $1,104.16 on other goods of Wallace, which he had apparently brought from Milwaukee. Preserved in the record also are two inventories, one taken by George Hunt, Leon Bourassa and Franklin Brewster, evidently acting for the Detroit merchant, and another by Administrator Perkins.

The sale bill of the Wallace estate amounts practically to a roll call of the adult male inhabitants of Chicago. Listed were 359 articles or groups of articles, recorded by David Hall, Jr., clerk of the sale. Buyers included John Kinzie and his son James, Antoine Ouilmette, J. B. Beaubien, Stephen Scott, Alexander Wolcott, David McKee, Barney Laughton, Jonas Clybourn and his sons, Archibald and Henley, and other pioneers of Chicago. Billy Caldwell, Alexander Robinson and J. B. Chevalier, mixed blood Indian chieftains, were buyers at the public sale. Chevalier made a single purchase of one "bai" horse at $23.12½. John Kinzie put up the money.

Sold also, among other articles, were one bottle of Cologne water, 168 gallons of highwines, 10 ivory combs, 23 "tomihawks," 800 gun flints, Indian mirrors, scalping knives, fox tail feathers, hawk bells, brass thimbles, verdigris, 32 black silk handkerchiefs, mourning shawls, chintz shawls, arm bands and wristbands in large and small sizes, headbands, five different sizes of brooches, 1,375 pair of earbobs, blankets, Indian awls and needles, and stores of furs and peltries.

Wallace and his engagés at Chicago and Milwaukee



Memo. of Sales Continued. Am't Brot Forward $ 125.82

C. Murray	1 Bag Feathers about 21 lbs			3	75
A. Wolcott	3 Pack Furs 3 Strings & 2 Bales			2	25
Collins & Co	2 Large Lynx 2 Small do & 3 do Kitts				75
L. Bellair	1 Vent (old)			5	00
D. Kinzie	93 Buck Skins		69	69	75
F. Brewster	286 Doe do.		45½	94	24
"	441 Raccoon do		12	61	74
D. Kinzie	2418 Muskrat do.		33½	806	68
F. Brewster	252 Mink do.		32	80	64
"	10 Otter do.		20	35	00
"	8 Bear do.		12	12	00
"	15 Fisher do.		60	9	90
J. Hartzell	15 Prepared do.		74	11	10
F. Brewster	46 Martin do.		50	23	00
"	4 Red Fox do.		64	2	56
"	1 Lynx do		52		32
"	11 Wolf do.		1/4	2	06
"	10 Wild Cat do.		25	2	50
Wm Bole	1 Castor 4 oz			2	94
				1341	60
A. Perkins	1 Pocket Book & 1 Bottle ink				62
	Deduct Amt of 21 lb Fur @ 33⅓ & 3 Buck Skins @ ⅔ of an Eagle charge to D. Kinzie a/c			1342	22
				9	28
	Neat Amt of Sales			1333	94

Sale Bill, Wallace Estate

had collected 4,014 muskrat, 692 raccoon, 431 deerskins, 20 dressed deerskins, 252 mink, 46 marten, 15 fisher, 18 wolves, 13 wildcats, 15 otter, 8 bears, 5 fox and 1 lynx.

Personal effects of Wallace also were auctioned. His claret frock coat brought $27.50; a blue dress coat, $10.50; 6 linen shirts, $13.50; a pair of cloth pantaloons, $4.50; and a pair of circassian pantaloons, $1.30. Also among the trader's personal effects were 6 vests (2 of silk), 1 prayer book, silk handkerchief, cravats and gloves, shaving "apparatus," a pocket compass, a trunk, and sundry other articles.

More than three years elapsed before Administrator Perkins was ready to make report of his acts and this seems to have been hastened by an order of Judge Hyde requiring him to inform the court "immediately." On the day of this citation Perkins paid John Humphrey, Jr., $250. The court directed the administrator to pay Mrs. Sarah Kennedy Wallace $416.54, representing two-fifths of the money in his hands, and one fifth each, or $208.27, to John Kennedy Wallace and Hugh McAdam Wallace.

Court files contain record of the death of John Kennedy Wallace at Bytown, Upper Canada, on November 8, 1831, and of Sarah Kennedy Wallace at Montreal on February 28, 1832.

LAST DAYS OF TRADER KINZIE

John Kinzie was sixty-one years old when in January, 1825, he was appointed justice of the peace of Peoria County, erected in the same month by the Illinois General Assembly. He owned personal property valued at $500 when the tax assessor, John L. Bogardus of Peoria, called later in the year. This was only one-tenth of the

value placed on goods in possession of John Crafts, superintendent of the American Fur Company.

Mr. Kinzie was one of the judges appointed for the first election in Chicago Precinct of Peoria County on August 7, 1826, and for this service he received a dollar. He furnished the ballot box for this election and the county allowed him a dollar and a half for the container. He served again at an election in 1827. He was an appraiser of the estate of Crafts, whose removal by death in 1825 gave Kinzie employment as agent of the American Fur Company. In 1827, soon after the death of William Henry Wallace, a trader at Hardscrabble, Kinzie bought 2,408 muskrat skins and other property which he bid in at the sale of his late rival's estate.

Kinzie was the third Chicago trader to be removed by death within twenty-eight months. Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Jr., his son-in-law, appeared before Probate Judge Norman Hyde at Peoria and made affidavit of Kinzie's death which, as the record subsequently showed, took place on January 6, 1828. Wolcott was appointed administrator.

John Baptiste Beaubien and Alexander Doyle appraised Kinzie's estate and estimated it to have value of $805.40, but when the property was sold it brought only $254.87½. Wolcott bid in every item.

The inventory and sale bill disclosed that the Kinzie house was heated with four metal stoves. His violin was valued at a dollar and his books at fifty cents. Articles of household and barnyard equipment were listed. The trader had retained the tools with which he once worked at silversmithing. The complete list of articles appearing on the sale bill and the prices paid by Doctor Wolcott are as follows:

1	Silversmith's shop & tools	$20.
4	Metal Stoves	10.
1	Black Walnut Secretary	3.50
2	Half Round & 2 Square dining Tables	20.
	Crockery & table furniture	28.
1	Bed, 1 Mattress, 1 Straw bed Bedding	9.
	Table Linen	4.
2	Carpets	8.
1	Doz. Chairs	9.
1	Breakfast table	2.
1	Sopha	2.50
2	Looking Glasses	3.50
2	Setts Window Curtains	1.50
2	Buffalo Robes	2.50
10	Mats	1.
1	Bunk	.25
1	Bureau	3.50
1	Trunk	.25
4	Steers 4 years old	31.
3	Steers 3 years old	19.
1	Milch Cow & calf	7.
1	Wagon	7.
1	pr. horse cart wheels	1.
1	Sleigh	1.
3	Ploughs	2.
	Harness	.50
	Books	1.
1	Violin, one cane	8.
1	old Secretary, 1 old cupboard, 1 red chest	2.25
	Carpenters tools	1.
	Gardening do	.50
1	Saddle & Bridle	5.
1	pr. Wool Cards	.12½
3	p Steel Yards 6 corn brroms 1 pick axe	1.50
5	Ox Chains	2.
7	Cart Baxes Lot of old Iron & Brass	2.
4	Yokes	1.75
	Sythes & Rakes	1.75
1	Lot Wool say 35	2.
7	Sheep	10.
	Kitchen furniture	15.
	Bed linnen	4.
	Dollars	$254.87½

Robert A. Kinzie, youngest son of John Kinzie, was "clerk of auction."

Sale prices generally were below values given in the appraisement bill. Silversmith tools for which Wolcott bid $20 were valued by the appraisers at $250. Listed in the appraisement bill but not separately mentioned in the sale bill were 1 Wood Saw, 1 Water Barrel, 2 bells, and 1 X cut saw.

"Mr. Ouillmette" bore a letter from Wolcott, dated Chicago, June 2, 1830, to Probate Judge Hyde at Peoria concerning the closing of the Kinzie estate. The administrator wrote he had been "absent all the winter and of course unable to attend to the business before." He wished to know whether it would be necessary for him to go to Peoria, and requested reply by the bearer.

David Hunter was then first lieutenant of Company A, Fifth Infantry, stationed at Fort Dearborn. (Companies A and I of the Fifth Infantry were at Chicago from October, 1828, to May 20, 1831). He reported the death of Administrator Wolcott to Judge Hyde by affidavit made at Peoria on December 17, 1830. The court appointed Hunter to succeed Wolcott and thus the second son-in-law of John Kinzie became his second administrator.

Hunter married Maria Indiana Kinzie on or about September 18, 1829, Justice Alexander Doyle officiating. Hunter related long afterwards that he sent a soldier on foot to Peoria, 160 miles away, for a marriage license. The certificate of Hunter's marriage does not appear on the Peoria County marriage register, but this may be explained by faulty record-keeping. In the Peoria County courthouse recently were found two certificates of marriage solemnized in 1829 but never entered on the register.

Hunter was a West Point graduate. He advanced to major general and was president of the military commission which condemned conspirators engaged in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Lieutenant Hunter, by letter dated April 2, 1831, invited Judge Hyde to come to Chicago to settle the affairs of the Kinzie estate because Mrs. Wolcott could not conveniently go to "Fort Clark," as Peoria continued to be called on account of the stockade built there in 1813 to check Indian depredations. Hunter wrote:

> During the winter I wrote you at the request of Mrs. Wolcott informing you that she was very anxious to be spared the necessity of visiting Fort Clark, and requesting to know whether, in case your business or pleasure should call you to Chicago, her affairs could be arranged here. Not having heard from you, I am induced to believe you could not have received my letter, and have therefore thought best to write you again on the subject. If you could come up she would cheerfully reimburse your expenses up & back & be under great obligation to you for your friendship.
>
> I enclose you an inventory of the property of the late John Kinzie. I should have done it before had I have met with a safe conveyance. There appearing no property but debts we had no use for our appraisers. I have collected all those that were collectible at this season of the year; as soon as the Navigation opens I shall no doubt receive the amount due from the American Fur Company, when I shall be able to render a complete account of my Administration.
>
> Be pleased Sir to present my best respects to Mr. & Mrs. Hamlin & believe me,
>
> Very respectfully,
>
> Hon. N. Hyde — Your ob. servant
> Judge of Probate — D. Hunter.

John Hamlin of Peoria, mentioned in Hunter's letter, was one of the sureties on the administrator's bond.

There is indirect evidence that Hyde complied with the request to transfer the probate court temporarily from Peoria to Chicago for the comfort of Mrs. Wolcott. No orders appear in his record from April 4 to May 2,

1831. On the latter date, Judge Hyde noted receipt of the "inventory of Money &c, &c received by David Hunter as Administrator on the Estate of the late John Kinzie Esqr. of Chicago, Ill." It follows:

Dec. 17, 1830	Cash from Mr. Hamlin	$ 19.00
Jan. 20, 1831	Cash from R. A. Kinzie	185.47
Jan. 20, 1831	Cash from Mrs. Wolcott	485.25
Jan. 20, 1831	Cash from J. N. Bailey rent	50.00
	Amount of money received	$ 740.72

There is due the estate by the American Fur Company $2,190.12 with interest from 10th May 1828 at 5 per cent pr annum. This debt is good.

The court spread the inventory on the record, entered each item a second time as a charge against Hunter and credited him with costs of three dollars which the administrator previously had paid. So ends the record of the estate of John Kinzie in Peoria County.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE HATED YANKEE

For many years, the "Yankees" were the objects of the deepest animosity to the settlers in Southern Illinois, Indiana, and the South-western States. A story is told illustrative of this feeling:— An old "hard-shell-Baptist" preacher called "Daddy" Briggs, was once holding forth on the richness of God's grace. He said, "It tuck in the isles of the sea and the uttermost parts of the 'yeth.' It embraced the Esquimaux and the Hottentots, and some, my dear brithering, go so fur as to suppose that it takes in these poor benighted Yankees; but *I* don't go that fur." He *allowed* that the word *sprinkle* was not to be found in the genuine editions of the Bible, but always contended that its being there was an *infernal Yankee trick*.

Joseph Gillespie, "Recollections of Early Illinois," *Fergus Hist. Series*, No. 13, pp. 6-7.

NOTE ON THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE

My father migrated from Boston to Carrollton, Greene County, in March and April, 1831. . . .

Perhaps the first thing that caught my attention in my new home was the language of the people. My parents had kept me from any of the rustic ways of New England speech and from its snappy word-clipping; but the broad vowels of the south and west were strange to me. For instance, I was used to the flat vowel in "there" rhyming with "fair;" our neighbors said "tha-r." It was no longer strange, yet notable, when in New Orleans, in 1884, I heard in contrast in the parlor of the hotel the voices of both the southern women and the northern from Illinois and adjacent states. Of words, powerful for very, was amusing. A man saw no incongruity in saying of his sick wife, "she's powerful weak today." Mighty was used in the same way: "A mighty nice woman." There is a single instance in

King James's Bible; "A mighty strong wind." "Right" for very, was new to me. "Right smart chance" for a large quantity seemed ludicrous. "Ridiculous" was an epithet for something excessive, scandalous or unreasonable; when one man injuriously assaulted another, "the way he behaved was ridiculous." Toothache was "a misery in the teeth." Why should a bride groom of twenty-one call his bride of sixteen at once "my old woman," while she spoke of him as "her old man?" To the Yankee the most of the day before the meridian sun was the forenoon, the western people knew no such time and never used the word; they took the Bible literally—"the evening and the morning were the first day"—and spoke of no other divisions of the day. On the playground when the signal for the beginning of school was heard, the cry was "Books! Books!" and when the pupils rushed out, "School's broke!" "Su-vi-grus" I heard often, meaning fierce, cruel, severe; it was a coinage for savage, in the form of sav-ag-er-ous; so sockdologer, the finishing or decisive stroke in a fight, was only a coined transposition of doxology.

SAMUEL WILLARD, "Personal Reminiscences,"
Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1906, 74-75.

DIET OF THE PIONEERS

My breakfast was now on the table; a substantial fare of corn-bread, butter, honey, fresh eggs, *fowl*, and *coffee*, which latter are as invariably visitants at an Illinois table as is bacon at a Kentucky one, and that is saying no little. The exhilarating herb tea is rarely seen. An anecdote will illustrate this matter. A young man, journeying in Illinois, stopped one evening at a log cabin with a violent headache, and requested that never-failing antidote, *a cup of tea*. There was none in the house; and, having despatched a boy to a distant grocery to procure a pound, he threw himself upon the bed. In a few hours a beverage was handed him, the first swallow of which nearly excoriated his mouth and throat. In the agony of the moment he dashed down the bowl, and rushed half blinded to the fireplace. Over the blaze was suspended a huge iron kettle, half filled with an inky fluid, seething, and boiling, and bubbling, like the witches' caldron of unutterable things in Macbeth. The good old lady, in her

anxiety to give her sick guest a *strong* dish of tea, having never seen the like herself or drank thereof, and supposing it something of the nature of soup, very innocently and ignorantly poured the whole pound into her largest kettle, and set it a boiling. Poultry is the other standing dish of Illinois; and the poor birds seem to realize that their destiny is at hand whenever a traveller draws nigh, for they invariably hide their heads beneath the nearest covert. Indeed, so invariably are poultry and bacon visitants at an Illinois table, that the story *may* be true, that the first inquiry made of the guest by the village landlord is the following: "Well, stran-ger, what'll ye take: wheat-bread and *chicken fixens*, or corn-bread and *common doins*?" by the latter expressive and elegant soubriquet being signified bacon.

EDMUND FLAGG, *The Far West*, II: 71-72.

THE HEROIC AGE OF MEDICINE

The frontiersman, self reliant and proud, and often poor, was reluctant to call for the doctor until after all home remedies had failed. Even then the doctor had to compete with all present and justify his system. Hence, perhaps, the bold treatments in these, the heroic days of medicine. "He came, every day, he purged, he bled, he blistered, he puked, he salivated his patient, he never cured him." Pills were as large as cherries, and 20 to 100 grains of calomel were a favorite dose. Extreme salivation often resulted, with softening of gums, loss of teeth, and disfigurement. Besides the lancet, leeches and cupping were used to bleed. The blister, the seton, and moxa were called into play. The seton was a thread of horse hair introduced through a fold of the skin and kept there to "maintain an issue," or irritate and inflame. Or a pea or small lump of lint would be kept in an incision in the thigh or leg. The moxa was a coil of carded cotton treated to burn slowly, so when placed on the skin it would irritate steadily. By judicious use of bellows "we should blow so that the moxa may burn as slowly as possible without allowing it to be extinguished." In cauterizing infection and wounds it was the iron heated to gray heat which was most irritating and torturous, hence the most effective. For fever and delirium the patient was bled until faint and relaxed, an emetic of ipecac administered, then a cathartic (calomel), then opium to allay irritability of internal

organs. Meanwhile the sufferer was probably confined in a closed room, sandwiched between feather beds, and forbidden cooling drinks. To cure the dumb ague it was necessary to bring on the shakes. "Carry then your patient into the passage between the two cabins . . . and strip off all his clothes that he may lie naked in the cold air and upon a bare sacking—and then and there pour over and upon him successive buckets of cold spring water, and continue until he has a decided and *pretty powerful smart chance of a shake*." Wet sheets wrapped around the sufferer were also used to drive out the fever. If pneumonia resulted, the cure was bleeding, tartar emetic and calomel. No indirect attacks, these, but frontal assaults. "We used no manner of temporizing treatment, but aimed our agents directly at the extermination of diseases. Opium, ipecac, tartarized antimony, nitrate of potassa, spirits of mindereri and spirits of niter, with other means too tedious to mention, were all frequently brought into requisition. Under the above manner of treating a case of remittent fever it was no uncommon thing on our second visit to find our patient sitting up feeling 'pretty well, except a little weak,' and within a few days able to return to his ordinary avocations." In case of death there probably was no second visit. That the doctors were sincere in practice of such treatment is evidenced by the fact that many tried their own medicine, with fatal results. That any patients survived both disease and cure speaks wonders for their constitutions and powers of resistence.

R. Carlyle Buley, "Pioneer Health and Medical Practices,"
Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., XX: 507-509.

THE SHOT THAT KILLED SIDNEY BREESE

All the old members of the bar will recall with pleasant recollections, a gallant and genial Irishman, James Shields, of Tyrone County, Ireland. He was, however, more distinguished as a politician and soldier, than as a lawyer and judge. In 1848, he was elected to the United States Senate, succeeding and defeating for re-election Senator Breese.

At the battle of Cerro Gordo, in the war against Mexico, he was shot through the lungs, the ball passing out at his back. His nomination over a man so distinguished as Judge Breese was a surprise to

many, and was the reward for his gallantry and wound. His political enemies said his recovery was marvellous, and that his wound was miraculously cured, so that no scar could be seen where the bullet entered and passed out of his body. All of which was untrue. The morning after the nomination, Mr. Butterfield, who was as violent a Whig as General Shields was a Democrat, met one of the Judges in the Supreme Court-room, who expressed his astonishment at the result, but, added the Judge, "It was the war and that Mexican bullet that did the business." "Yes," answered Mr. Butterfield, dryly, "and what an extraordinary, what a wonderful shot that was! The ball went clean through Shields without hurting him, or even leaving a scar, and killed Breese a thousand miles away!"

Isaac N. Arnold, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar," *Fergus Hist. Series*, No. 14, p. 142.

AN ILLINOIS IMMORTAL

The gold brick game, perhaps the most celebrated of all swindles, is supposed to have been invented by Reed Waddell, who was born in Springfield, Illinois, a few years before the Civil War. Waddell was a member of a prosperous and highly respectable family, but the gambling fever was in his veins, and even in his boyhood he acquired considerable local fame because of his willingness to take chances and the recklessness with which he played for high stakes. His family soon cast him off, and in 1880, when he was but twenty-one, he appeared in New York with the first gold brick ever offered for sale. Waddell's brick was of lead, but he had it triple gold-plated with a rough finish, and in the center sunk a slug of solid gold. It was marked in the manner of a regulation brick from the United States Assayer's office, with the letters "U. S." at one end and below them the name of the assayer. Underneath the name appeared the the weight and fineness of the supposed chunk of bullion. When Waddell caught a sucker he was taken to an accomplice who posed as an assayer, with an office and all necessary equipment to delude the victim. This man tested the brick, and if the prospect was still dubious Waddell impulsively dug out the slug of real gold and suggested that the dupe himself take it to a jeweller. The latter's test, of course, showed the slug to be actually of precious metal, and in

ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the sale was completed. Waddell sold his first brick for four thousand dollars, and thereafter never sold one for less than three thousand five hundred dollars. Sometimes he obtained twice that amount. In ten years he is said to have made more than $250,000 by the sale of gold bricks and green goods, for he branched out into the latter scheme after a few years of concentrated effort on the bricks. The green goods swindle, which was also called the sawdust game, first made its appearance in New York in 1869. It required two operators, who simply sold the victim a package of genuine money and then exchanged it for a bundle of worthless sheets of green or brown paper, or, if the currency was packed in a satchel, for another bag filled with sawdust. The green goods man first obtained the names of people who were regular subscribers to lotteries and various gift book concerns, and agents were sent over the country to look up the most promising. In due time those chosen for the sacrifice received one of several circular letters which were in general use, of which the following was the most popular:

"Dear Sir: I will confide to you through this circular a secret by which you can make a speedy fortune. I have on hand a large amount of counterfeit notes of the following denominations: $1, $2, $5, $10 and $20. I guarantee every note to be perfect, as it is examined carefully by me as soon as finished, and if not strictly perfect is immediately destroyed. Of course it would be perfectly foolish to send out poor work, and it would not only get my customers into trouble, but would break up my business and ruin me. So, for personal safety, I am compelled to issue nothing that will not compare with the genuine. I furnish you with my goods at the following low price, which will be found as reasonable as the nature of my business will allow:

For $1,200 in my goods (assorted) I charge.....$100
For $2,500 in my goods (assorted) I charge..... 200
For $5,000 in my goods (assorted) I charge..... 350
For $10,000 in my goods (assorted) I charge..... 600"

These circulars, as well as follow-up letters and other literature, were sent boldly through the mails. Some of the green goods swindlers prepared elaborate booklets, illustrated with photographs of bank notes, which the prospective victim was told were counterfeit.

In time Reed Waddell extended his operations to Europe, and was killed in Paris in March, 1895, during a dispute over the division of earnings with Tom O'Brien, a banco man whose only peers were Joseph Lewis, better known as Hungry Joe, and Charles P. Miller, who was called King of the Banco Men.

Reprinted from pp. 194, 196-97, *The Gangs of New York* by Herbert Asbury, by permission and special arrangement with Albert A. Knopf, Inc., authorized publisher.

FORM FOR A BUSINESS LETTER

SPRINGFIELD, ILLS. *April 24th* 1844

Messrs Rowland, Smith & Co.

GENT.

Since the Supreme court of the United States have decided our property laws to be unconstitutional, and our own courts have ascertained, and concluded to follow the decision, we have become a little encouraged to make some further attempts to make some collections. Your case in our hands against Francis, Allen, & Stone stands about thus.

1841. March 26th Judgment for $887.64. & costs.

1842. April 18th Real estate sold and bought in for you at the sum of $666.67. and not redeemed.

This sale, if we calculate the interest correctly, left still due you on that date $277.55, which with interest from that date amounts now to about $310.85. This last amount and the cost are still to pay. We suppose you would be pleased to have it collected, but in as much as the officers have never received any thing yet for what they have already done, we apprehend they will be loth to proceed. The precise amount of cost already incurred we have not now at hand, but it will not greatly vary from $40. We will direct the Sheriff to collect the ballance.

As to the real estate, we can not attend to it, as agents, & we therefore recommend that you give the charge of it, to Mr. Isaac S. Britton, a trust-worthy man, & one whom the Lord made on purpose for this business.

Yours &c

LOGAN & LINCOLN

PAUL M. ANGLE, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 18-19.

THE OLD TIME RELIGION

[November, 1847.] N. W. Matheny offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"That the practice of hiring horses and Carriages, on the Sabbath day, is in direct violation of our book of Discipline, and contrary to the Word of God, and should not be tolerated in any church. Resolved: that Bro. Guthrie be requested to wait upon Bros. Thos. E. and William L———and inform them of this action of the Leaders Meeting and report to the next Meeting—"

Brother Guthrie called on the Brethern and made this report at the next meeting.

"Brethern:

"In compliance with the action taken by you at the last meeting I called on the brothers L———and informed them of your action in regard to hiring horses and Carriages on the holy Sabbath, and beg leave to report the result of said conference with them. They think themselves justified in continuing the business to the extent that they do, on the Sabbath, and are therefore not prepared to give any pledge that they will cease to do so— But state, that, on a former occasion, the Leaders meeting agreed that their judgment, and conscience, should be their guide in the matter, and that an interference at this time, contrary to that agreement, was an indication of meddlesomeness, that they regret to see. But as the meeting has the authority, they would have to take such action as will satisfy their conscience before God."

Where-upon: the following resolution was offered and adopted; "Resolved that Brother Guthrie be requested to prefer charges against Bros. Thos. and William L———for immoral conduct in repeatedly violating the Sabbath day. . . ." Bro. Henkle offered the following resolution: "Resolved: that the practice of visiting, and going to the Post Office, on the Sabbath day is wrong, and should not be indulged in by members of the Church."

NELSON ALLYN, First Methodist Church, Springfield, Illinois, Historical Data (MS), 20-21.

HISTORICAL NOTES

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC CORRECTION

In the bibliography on pages 231-32 of Boggess' *Settlement of Illinois*[1] is the title: "Van Zandt, Nicholas Biddle. *A full Description . . . of the Military Lands between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, Washington City: P. Force*, 1818," followed by the comment: "Pages 109-25 contain a venomous account of Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois."

The same Van Zandt title was entered six years later, in Buck's *Travel and Description*,[2] page 72. It is followed by an annotation of more than eight lines, a part of which reads: "About fifteen pages are devoted to an unfavorable account of Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois."

Examination of Van Zandt's book shows that it contains no mention of Birkbeck's English settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded by Birkbeck and Flower in 1817. Adlard Welby, an English traveler who visited the Birkbeck settlement in 1819, published his observations in *A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois*. . . . (London, 1821). His comments might well be described as "a venomous attack," and as they appear on pages 109-25 of his book it would seem that Boggess' characterization was meant for Welby instead of Van Zandt.

Indeed the misplaced comment in Boggess' bibliography may have been due to a printer's careless error in the make-up of pages 231-33, since both the Van Zandt and Welby titles appear on these pages.

EDWARD CALDWELL

NEW YORK, N. Y.

WILLIAM WILSON, PIONEER JUDGE IN ILLINOIS

My interest in William Wilson began on July 25, 1932, when I

[1] Arthur C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830* (*Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, V, Chicago, 1908).

[2] Solon J. Buck, *Travel and Description, 1765-1865* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, IX, Springfield, 1914).

was in the "Old Cemetery" at Carmi, White County, Illinois, and suddenly came upon the handsome gravestone bearing the following historic inscription: "William Wilson, born in Loudoun County, Va., April 27, 1794. Emigrated to Illinois in 1817. Appointed Associate Justice in 1819. Elected Chief Justice of Illinois Dec. 30, 1824. Served until Dec. 4, 1848. Died April 29, 1851." (The date on the tombstone appeared to me to be 1851 although biographies generally give the date as 1857).

William Wilson then became a real person to me and I wanted to know what manner of man I had met in this city of distinguished dead. Patriots of every war, save the Spanish-American and World wars, sleep there. The name of Richard W. Ruckle, who marched in the parade as escort to Lafayette, and those of colonels, generals and statesmen resting there, made me feel that I trod upon sacred ground.

When a mere lad William Wilson's father died and he and his only brother went to work to help support themselves and their mother. William was an omnivorous reader; he spent nearly all of his spare time reading while other boys were at play. He soon decided what he desired to follow as his lifework and when he was only eighteen years of age he began the study of law. When our second war with Great Britain was declared William enlisted and for a short period gave military service in that War of 1812. Though his study of law was interrupted for a while he later resumed it, and in 1817 he felt he was prepared to enter the profession. He accordingly left his home to seek his fortune in the West, which was then luring hundreds to seek their fortunes in the Northwest Territory. In that same year, he reached White County, Illinois Territory, and decided to try his fortune there. He was very popular and greatly esteemed and before he had been in Illinois even one year he received fifteen votes in the legislature for an associate justiceship in the Supreme Court, which had just been organized. However, a few more votes were necessary to elect him. But Wilson was appointed to this office by the Governor in August, 1819, when a vacancy occurred. In 1824, at the expiration of his term as Associate Justice, he was elected Chief Justice by the legislature. Though only thirty years of age at this time, he had become the third Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. In this capacity he ably served until 1848, when he retired after twenty-nine years on the bench. He then returned to

White County and spent the remainder of his life there among his hundreds of friends and admirers.

Sitting as Chief Justice in the case of *Field v. The People of the State of Illinois ex rel. McClernand*,[3] he handed down his most famous decision. This case was argued by the foremost lawyers of the state and attracted much attention. In general his numerous opinions during his long term on the bench were considered forceful and discriminating, and they were always clearly stated.

He early became a member of the Whig Party but when the Republican Party was organized he became a Democrat. He was never known as a politician, however.

Judge Wilson was totally devoid of, and never in his life could wield, any of the arts of the politician or political schemer. As regards political intrigue, he was innocent as a child. He was singularly pure in all his convictions of duty, and in his long public career of nearly 30 years as a supreme judge of Illinois, he commanded the full respect, confidence and esteem of the people for the probity of his official acts and his upright conduct as a citizen and a man.[4]

By one of his contemporaries he was described "as noble looking." Governor Ford, speaking of the judges of the Supreme Court, said:

It is due to truth here to say, that Wilson and Lockwood were in every respect amiable and accomplished gentlemen in private life, and commanded the esteem and respect of all good men for the purity of their conduct and probity in official station. Wilson was a Virginian of the old sort, a man of good education, sound judgment, and an elegant writer, as his published opinions will show.[5]

He was ever interested in agriculture, horses, sheep, cattle and hogs, and on his fine estate in White County the best of breeds were to be found. He was a charming companion, a noted story-teller, and was famous for his hospitable disposition. "Hosts of friends and visitors were entertained at his beautiful country home." His wife was Mary S. Davidson, a native of Wheeling, West Virginia. They were married in April, 1820. They were the parents of ten children, four sons and two daughters surviving their father. On February 8,

[3] See 3 *Ill.*, 79-185.

[4] Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springfield, 1874), 329.

[5] Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 212.

1915, the Circuit Court of Lawrence County, Illinois, held a memorial service on the occasion of the presentation of a portrait of William Wilson to the county by his granddaughter, Mrs. Alice Stuvé Jarrett.

It seems well to bring to mind these great men of Illinois' early days for much of our state's greatness is due to their vision, judgment and state pride. To know them is to resolve to be worthy citizens in our day.

SARA JOHN ENGLISH

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In "Illinois in 1937," in our March issue, the statement was made that Gen. Abel Davis was a former member of the Illinois Senate. This is incorrect. General Davis served in the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Illinois for one term, 1902-1904.

With increasing frequency the Illinois State Historical Library is the recipient of gifts of family histories. Since a large number of the Library's patrons are interested in genealogy, works of this kind are most welcome. To the following donors public acknowledgment is gratefully made:

E. Alix, Berlin, New Hampshire, for Alix, *La Famille Alix du Mesnil;* Edgar J. Bullard, Detroit, Michigan, for Bullard, *Bennett and Allied Families*, *Bullard and Allied Families*, and *Other Bullards;* E. Daniel, Beverly, Massachusetts, for Daniel, *John Yates;* G. W. L. Meeker, Galesburg, Illinois, for Meeker, *Genealogy of the Coleman-Poole and Allied Families;* Mrs. Albert W. Patten, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, for Patten, *The Lenz Family;* Mrs. Sara John English, Jacksonville, Illinois, for Stryker, Genealogy of the Strycker Family (MS); William Penn Vail, Blairstown, New Jersey, for Vail, *Genealogy of the Vail Family;* J. S. Wannamaker, St. Matthews, South Carolina, for Wannamaker, *The Wannamaker, Salley, Mackay, and Bellinger Families;* Mrs. Florence Scott White, R.R. 5, Decatur, Illinois, for White, [The Austins in Macon County], (MS).

On March 20, 1938, the *Rockford Morning Star* celebrated its fiftieth birthday with a special issue of eighty-four pages. This edition covers the various phases of the city's history in a comprehensive and interesting manner. Accounts of its industries, civic affairs, educational system, churches, clubs, etc., are included, and the story of the Rock River in the life of the city is also told. There are numerous illustrations throughout the paper. One entire page of pic-

tures taken about the time the first *Morning Star* was published is included, and there are numerous other illustrations scattered through the eight sections making up the paper.

One of the best features in the entire issue is the map of the city on page ten of section seven, showing the boundaries of the city from 1865 to 1938. This was prepared for the *Star* by Harry C. Mundhenke, assistant city engineer. The city, chartered in 1865, has made some twenty-five annexations of territory since 1900. Grouped by ten-year periods, these additions are graphically displayed and the result is a map of real historical value.

The second and third county archives inventories—covering the records of Brown and Jo Daviess counties—to be issued by The Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration appeared in March. Both are mimeographed volumes with attractive covers designed by the Federal Art Project. Both give synopses of the history of the counties, concise accounts of the evolution of their governments, and detailed descriptions of the existing county records. Business men whose necessities lead them to consult county records will find these guides most useful publications. Historians will find that they will repay careful study, for county archives contain vast resources of material which are still largely unworked.

Letters Relating to Gustaf Unonius and the Early Swedish Settlers in Wisconsin[1] is the title of the seventh volume of the *Augustana Historical Society Publications*. As the title indicates, the letters, which were written between 1841 and 1856, relate principally to Wisconsin, but the pioneer conditions they reflect were typical of much of Illinois at an earlier period. Many passages, moreover, refer directly to Illinois. The volume contains an Introduction by Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, but no index.

One does not ordinarily think of Illinois as the state of orators, yet four of the sixteen preëminent practitioners of oratorical art whom

[1] Augustana Historical Society, Rock Island, Ill., $2.00.

Edgar DeWitt Jones discusses in *Lords of Speech*[2] were associated in some degree with this state. Foremost of all was Abraham Lincoln, of whom the author remarks: "It is the substance of his speeches, together with the chaste beauty of a style which matches the sheer nobility of his spirit, that lifts Abraham Lincoln into the small and elect company of the world's supreme masters of public speech." Robert G. Ingersoll, "the most gorgeous rhetorician" America has produced, lived thirty-two of his sixty-six years in Marion, Shawneetown and Peoria. William Jennings Bryan was born at Salem and educated at Illinois College; while Albert J. Beveridge, usually, and correctly, associated with Indiana, lived as a boy in Moultrie County, Illinois. Even the author can be claimed for the Prairie State, since his distinguished career includes a fourteen-year pastorate at the First Christian Church of Bloomington.

One of the most notable characteristics of current American historical writing is the increasing number of histories of cities, towns and localities, and the work being done on these subjects is of high caliber. A case in point is *Historic St. Joseph Island*,[3] by Joseph and Estelle Bayliss. Interesting to Illinoisans because so many of them have vacationed there, the book has also a tangential value for Illinois history. St. Joseph's Island saw the beginning and development of lake navigation, and for years it was a factor of importance in the lumber business. Its commercial connections with Chicago were close, and thus it figures in the history of the Illinois metropolis.

By its recent publication, *Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana*,[4] the Indiana Historical Society has set a standard which other societies will emulate in vain. The work of Eli Lilly, the Society's President, *Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana* contains an introductory essay on the origin and antiquity of the American Indian, an outline of the prehistory of Indiana, and descriptions and analyses of the more im-

[2] Willett, Clark & Company, $2.00.
[3] Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, $2.00.
[4] Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, $5.00.

portant prehistoric sites in the state and the artifacts which have been taken from them. The author's approach is that of the careful scholar, but he fortunately avoids the highly technical terminology by which some modern archaeologists hide their meaning from all except their professional confreres.

Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana is a quarto of 293 pages which will warm the heart of anyone who has a fondness for fine books. Eighty-eight illustrations, reproduced by offset, combine fine photography and printing technique with rare felicity.

The ancient Indian knew no state lines. *Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana*, therefore, will appeal to Illinoisans who are interested in the general subject only less strongly than to the residents of the state to which it primarily relates.

Four major structures of the New Salem of Lincoln's day are to be rebuilt during the current year. These include the residence of the Herndon Brothers, the Miller blacksmith shop, the Hill carding machine, and the dam and mill in the Sangamon River at the foot of the bluff on which New Salem stands. In addition, a number of barns, smoke houses, rail and picket fences and other outdoor appurtenances will be constructed.

The cabin of Thomas Lincoln in Macon County west of Decatur—the first home of the Lincoln family in Illinois—is soon to be rebuilt, according to a recent announcement by the state Department of Public Works and Buildings. The site of the cabin, long in doubt, has been definitely located, and plans for suitable approaches have been worked out. The state also plans to erect an old-style covered bridge over the Sangamon River at this site.

Historical restoration work currently under way in Illinois includes the reconstruction of the interior of the Mt. Pulaski Courthouse. In this building Abraham Lincoln practiced law from 1848, when it was built, until 1854, when the county seat was removed

to Lincoln. Last year the exterior of the building was restored to its original appearance; this year the galvanized roof is to be replaced and the original interior duplicated. Existing records, and a detailed architectural investigation, have furnished reliable data for the work.

Four major historical parks will eventually be added to the state park system if a recent recommendation by the National Park Service is followed. The historical park areas recommended are the site of the Dickson Indian Mounds near Lewistown, the original Mormon city of Nauvoo, the site of abandoned Shawneetown, and the site of Cantonment-Wilkinsonville, a former army post on the Ohio River. It is likely that the report will be adopted as the program of the state Division of Parks, but a number of years will probably elapse before its objectives are all attained.

Plans for the suitable observance of the centennial of DuPage County are in the making. February 28, 1939, is the anniversary of the county's birthday, but it is probable that the celebration will be postponed until the following summer so that outdoor gatherings may be planned. In this connection the *Elmhurst Press* makes an appeal that will fall on many sympathetic ears: "Anyone who has any special ideas," the editor states, "about what form of observance would be especially suitable is invited to submit such proposals to the committee, for Centennial programs are 'old stuff' in these parts, and something a little different and out of the ordinary is being looked for." The chairman of the centennial committee is Theodore F. Hammerschmidt of Lombard.

The three-hundredth anniversary of the first Swedish settlement in North America was marked by a community observance in Cambridge on April 8. The program, planned by a Henry County committee headed by Dr. J. E. Westerlund of Cambridge, included songs by the Olive Swedish male chorus of Moline, and an address by Dr. C. E. Bengston of Galesburg on the subject, "The Delaware Colonists."

The American Historical Association announces a change in the date of its prize awards for essays in American history. Under the customary practice the two prizes—the Dunning Prize and the Winsor Prize—would be awarded in 1939. This year, however, only the Dunning Prize will be awarded, reserving the Winsor Prize for 1940. Hereafter each prize will be awarded in alternate years.

The last date for presenting competing essays for the Dunning Prize is September 1, 1938. Essays submitted in competition should be sent to Dr. Kathleen Bruce, The Dunning Prize Committee, American Historical Association, Chesterfield Apartments, Richmond, Virginia.

At the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Indianapolis on April 28, 29 and 30, a number of papers of Illinois interest were presented. A session devoted to the beginnings of the American regime in the Old Northwest included "The Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786," by L. C. Helderman of Washington and Lee University; "Some Footnotes to Any Discussion of George Rogers Clark," by Milo M. Quaife of the Detroit Public Library; and "Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest," by John D. Barnhart, Louisiana State University. At another session Harvey Wish of De Paul University spoke on "Altgeld and the Reform Movement of the Nineties."

In addition to Mr. Wish, a number of Illinoisans took part in the meeting. The program committee was headed by James G. Randall of the University of Illinois. The Editor of this publication, Louise B. Dunbar of the University of Illinois, Isaac J. Cox of Northwestern University, and Charles Lyttle of Meadville Theological School, Chicago, presided at various sessions of the Association. William Warren Sweet of the University of Chicago presented a paper at the joint meeting of the Association and the American Society of Church History.

At Belvidere, on February 26, the Boone County Historical Society, sponsored a dinner on the occasion of the ninetieth birthday

of the city's oldest business man—Josiah R. Balliet. Nearly two hundred persons attended. The Society also met on March 28 in a session devoted to the general subject, "Indian Lore."

The Bureau County Historical Society continues to give evidence of the enthusiasm which has marked its course since its organization. On March 17, 18 and 19 the Society played the principal part in Princeton's celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of its incorporation. The Society's rooms in the Bureau County Courthouse were filled with interesting and valuable reminders of the past, well-arranged, and visitors were received and served tea by ladies dressed in costumes of a century ago. In the three days of the celebration more than 6,000 persons visited the exhibits.

Commenting on the interest aroused by the exhibition, Mr. F. S. Fowler, treasurer of the Bureau County Historical Society, outlined a program which other historical societies might follow with advantage.

"There are just two kinds of museums; the quick and the dead," said Mr. Fowler. "The living are worth supporting, the latter should be decently interred. To make our historical society a living force and an educational institution, and the museum a monument to the memory of our forefathers who lived and wrought mightily that we of today, and the unborn generations of tomorrow might have the joy of living in one of the finest garden spots in the world we plan to go forward, not backward.

"A living museum and historical headquarters must be kept open to the public at least three afternoons of each week. More would be better. It should steadily increase and improve its collection of relics. We want to have as complete a file of all the stronger papers published in the county and have them card indexed. That done they will be a ready source of information covering the whole county and reaching back for more than a hundred years.

"Also it is hoped to have fairly complete biographical histories of all the families that have lived here for 50 years or longer and later bring these records down to recent times. This work will have to be done largely by members of the families. These family histories are to be typewritten and filed in fireproof cabinets."

For the realization of a program like this funds are necessary, so the Society has set its goal at 1,000 members, with dues of $1.00 each. Several hundred members have already been obtained, and a fund of $300, left by an earlier historical society no longer in existence, has been turned over to the new society.

If present plans materialize, Carlyle, the seat of Clinton County, will celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of its incorporation with a historical pageant and exhibits illustrating local history. The date of the observance has been tentatively set for August, when the annual American Legion street fair is to be held.

Frequent changes in its museum exhibits and a broad and hospitable policy with reference to material make the Chicago Historical Society an institution of perennial interest. Among new exhibits which have attracted particular attention in recent months are the Chicago Alcove, rearranged and featuring new objects like early automobile license plates and policemen's clubs; a new coverlet and weaving room in which looms, spinning wheels and their products are on display; and the Chicago Sports Alcove, devoted to old time bicycles, tennis racquets and golf clubs, as well as prints of sporting events of all kinds. The Chicago Historical Society, offering one of the finest historical museums in the world, is situated near the southern limit of Lincoln Park.

On February 14 more than a hundred residents of Chicago Lawn met at the Chicago Public Library branch at 6234 South Kedzie Avenue and organized the Chicago Lawn Historical Society. Richard O. Helwig was elected president; May Blair, John M. Cravener, Mrs. E. H. Bowlby and C. G. Carleton vice-presidents; Mrs. B. J. Glidewell, treasurer; and Helga Nielsen, secretary and historian. The territory covered by the historical society has been restricted to the area between 51st and 75th streets, and between Harlem Avenue and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks. Headquarters of the Society will be in the Chicago Lawn branch of the Chicago Public Library.

Under the presidency of Dr. Dwight F. Clark the Evanston Historical Society has made itself an important factor in the cultural life of the city. Museum experts have rearranged the exhibits in the Society's rooms (in the Evanston Public Library) to make them fresh and interesting, the Society's library is being recataloged, and meetings have been held regularly and on special occasions. At the fortieth anniversary meeting, held on February 23, Dr. James A. James, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on George Washington and the West of Washington's time; and the Society played a prominent part in the dedication of Evanston's new post office on March 18.

"If you think that the Evanston Historical Society is not 'going places,' you haven't met Dr. Dwight F. Clark, the president of the organization," the *Evanston News-Index* commented in a recent editorial. "He and his fellow officers of the historical society have a number of ambitious plans set up as goals for the society in the near future—such as erection of signs on all historical spots in Evanston. This should be a major project. Saturday historical lectures for children are planned, a pioneering job of great value. A full time custodian for the museum and provision for more rooms and display space for the rapidly growing collection, are other desirable goals envisioned for the society."

In recent years the Livingston County Historical Society has marked the principal places of historical interest in the county, among them the site of the first settler's cabin and the place at which Abraham Lincoln spoke in 1858. This activity, together with the county's centennial observance a year ago, has stimulated interest to such an extent that plans are being formulated for permanent quarters in the courthouse at Pontiac and for periodic historical programs.

The Madison County Historical Society and the county board of supervisors have secured a W.P.A. project for the indexing of all historical material in the county. The principal source of information is expected to be the seventy-five-year-old file of the *Edwardsville Intelligencer*. Work on the project began in March, and is expected to last at least six months.

In January the Oak Park Historical Society completed its first year. The Society, whose membership is nearly a hundred and still increasing, meets on the second Thursday of each month at the south branch of the Oak Park Public Library. Present officers are: Mrs. Nellie E. Best, president; Mrs. William E. Frey and M. J. Harland, vice-presidents; Adele H. Maze, vice-president and historian; and Mrs. Kate S. Clark, secretary and treasurer.

At the April meeting of the Peoria Historical Society many of those present brought old text books and underwent a quiz by Miss Naomi Lagron. At earlier meetings during the current year Earl W. Browning addressed the Society on the history of the Peoria Public Library, and Dr. Howard C. Perkins of the Bradley College History Department spoke on the attitude of the American people towards law and courts.

The fourth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association was held in the Hild Library, 4544 Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, on March 22. A feature of the meeting, which was open to the public, was an exhibit of photographs of Ravenswood and Lake View fifty years ago, about the time of their annexation by the city of Chicago. Several hundred visitors viewed the exhibit.

In the March number of the *Journal* a paragraph from the *Shelbyville Democrat* urging the formation of a local historical society was quoted. It is gratifying to report that since that time Shelbyville's civic clubs have endorsed the proposal and an organization committee has been formed. In all probability, a Shelbyville Historical Society will be organized in the near future.

The Stark County Historical Society—a new organization—was incorporated as a not-for-profit corporation on February 26. The incorporators were James M. Armstrong, W. W. Wright and Arthur W. Shinn, all of Toulon.

The West Side Historical Society of Chicago has announced a historical description contest for students of west side high schools. Entrants are to give complete descriptions of events which took place at landmarks not already marked by tablets. A silver cup, donated by Otto Eisenschiml, past president of the Society, will be awarded to the winner.

The Warren County Historical Society, organized in March, is one of the newest organizations of its kind in the state. Hugh R. Moffett of Monmouth and E. C. Hardin have been elected president and vice-president respectively.

In a letter to the Editor of the *Journal* President Moffett described one of the Warren County Historical Society's first undertakings: "Of course we want to gather and preserve historical information and articles and documents of various kinds," he wrote, "but one of our first objectives will be the old burying grounds. In fact, we have begun already with a petition to our city Council which has resulted immediately in action by that body for definite care of an old unused cemetery (an entire block) inside the city which has been neglected and a disgrace to the city and community. The city has definitely promised care for the future and instructed its cemetery committee and the cemetery sexton to care for this as they do for the cemetery now being used.

"We plan to go to some of the deserted cemeteries out in the county, where the stones are all lying flat, and there is no one to care for the graves or the grounds, and transfer the stones to this old city cemetery, keeping a record of where they are brought from. We plan to have the old cemetery, begun about the time the town was laid out, called the 'Warren County Pioneer Cemetery,' made a place worthy of the pioneer families buried there."

The effectiveness of the Warren County Historical Society's appeal may be measured by the following item from the *Monmouth Review Atlas*, published on March 29, five days after the date of the letter quoted above:

"Carrying out a program of general cleaning up, employes of the city's cemetery department are gradually getting rid of underbrush, weeds and tall, dead grass that made Monmouth's Old Cemetery on

East Archer Avenue between North Fifth and North Sixth streets a rather unattractive place.

"Part of the work was completed last week, and the men were back working there again yesterday, burning the dead grass and brush which had been raked up. During the coming spring and summer the cemetery department men will also re-set the old grave markers as carefully as possible, lack of adequate records making it a bit difficult to determine accurately the location of some graves."

The Editor of the *Journal* receives frequent appeals for the Illinois State Historical Society to "do something" about neglected cemeteries. He has always been of the opinion that nothing the state society could do would be half as effective as a small amount of pressure brought locally. The success of the Warren County Historical Society in this respect seems to support his opinion.

The Winnetka Historical Society has taken a new lease on life. Organized in 1932, the Society lapsed into inactivity, but this spring the organization has been revived. Eugene A. Rummler has been elected president, and all indications are that its future will be active and productive. The Society plans the collection of Winnetka historical material, the publication of a comprehensive history of Winnetka, and social activities for the enjoyment of its members.

Organization of the Woodlawn Historical Society, which has been in progress since last summer, was completed on February 11 when Mrs. E. J. Chladek was elected president and other officers were chosen. The meeting was held at the Woodlawn Branch Library, 6247 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, where an exhibition of historical material relating to the community was on display.

The one-hundred thirteenth anniversary of the founding of Jacksonville was observed in that city on Tuesday, April 26. The Morgan County Historical Society celebrated the event with its annual dinner meeting at which Dr. Carl E. Black presided. Jackson-

ville was one of the largest towns in the state about a hundred years ago. Mrs. Fern Nance Pond of Petersburg was the guest speaker of the evening. Appearing in pioneer costume, she gave an illustrated lecture on the reconstructed village of New Salem.

The National Youth Administration of Illinois is now presenting a radio feature program entitled "Decatur Through the Years," in which the rise and growth of Decatur from the establishment of Macon County in 1829 to the present is being depicted. The scripts are prepared by the N.Y.A. research staff and produced by the WJBL players. The program lasts thirty minutes, and is presented each Sunday afternoon at 12:30 Central Standard time from Station WJBL, Decatur, 1200 kilocycles.

The Illinois State Historical Society has compiled a manual of style for the guidance of contributors. Copies will be sent free to any applicant.

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul M. Angle is the Editor of this magazine. . . . Hubert Schmidt's article in this number was adapted from a larger work, "An Economic and Social History of Bond County, Illinois, before 1850," a University of Chicago master's thesis. Mr. Schmidt is now at the University of Minnesota. . . . After a distinguished career, John M. Palmer, a grandson of Illinois' governor of the same name, retired from the United States Army several years ago in order to devote all his time to writing. His latest book, *Baron von Steuben*, was published by the Yale University Press last year. . . . Margaret King Moore is a member of the organization whose history she writes and a teacher in the Jacksonville High School. . . . Ernest E. East, member of the staff of the *Peoria Journal-Transcript* and a Director of this Society, finds his principal relaxation in research in Peoria history.

LAURENCE MARCELLUS LARSON

1868-1938

BY THEODORE C. PEASE

LAURENCE Marcellus Larson, member and director of the Illinois State Historical Society, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, thirty years a member and seventeen years Head of the University of Illinois History Department, President of the American Historical Association, died at his home in Urbana, March 9, 1938. For the many people he honored with his friendship something that can never be replaced has been taken out of life.

Professor Larson left in manuscript an autobiography down to 1908 entitled "The Log Book of a Young Immigrant." He liked to think of his life's story in terms of the emigrant who clings proudly to the memory of his old-world race, to its achievements, to its excellences, but who nevertheless gives his whole-souled allegiance, devotion and honor to the nation of his adoption. Professor Larson was ever the wisest of counselors; and he may well have his advice taken as to the viewpoint from which his career is set forth for his friends.

A Norseman he always liked to call himself when thinking of his race—those sturdy Norwegian sailors and yeomen who by sheer force of character have kept democracy a living thing in Norway from the middle

ages to our own days. His forefathers were yeomen who deemed it honor to till the soil with their own hands; sometimes a son seemed better fitted for a profession as clergyman, lawyer, or teacher and they dismissed him to such pursuits, thinking neither less nor more of him that his aptitudes lay in that direction rather than in winning his bread in the sweat of his brow. And so it happened with Laurence Larson.

He was born September 23, 1868 on a farm on the little island of Spjutöy—Spear Island we may translate it—in the Lygre Fjord near Bergen in Norway. His father was Christian Larson Spjutöy, born in 1840 and destined to attain the age of seventy-nine. His mother, Ellen Mathilde Madsen, had married his father in 1866; she died in her Iowa home September 12, 1917. Among her eight children, five of whom lived into middle age, the second child and eldest son was Laurence Marcellus.

Christian Larson Spjutöy, originally destined to a career in the army of Norway and Sweden, had gone to the military academy in Bergen in 1861 and had begun his service as a sergeant. In 1870 he decided to migrate to America. Besides the four persons in his immediate family, seven near relatives made up the party which embarked in the sailing ship *Maryland*, carrying their own provisions. After a voyage of seven weeks they landed at Quebec on June 22, 1870. The group journeyed by railroad to a port on Lake Michigan, crossed it in a cattle-boat, and then went on by rail to Dallas County, Iowa. In May-June, 1871, Christian Larson took his immediate family to a farm in Winnebago County, near the center of Iowa's northern tier of counties. Hereafter this was the family home.

Young Laurence Larson therefore grew up from baby-

hood close to the frontier. "It has," he wrote, "been my privilege to see what few will see in the future; the conversion of the prairie into cultivated farm land." From the Iowa countryside in which he grew up, the Indians and the major beasts of chase and prey had vanished, though the deer and the prairie wolf remained. But he lived in dugout and log cabin; against the menace of the prairie fire in summer and the blizzard in winter, sagacity even in children must protect life. He could see new farm homes spring up, and covered wagons pass on their way to the farther West. As the quoted passage implies, the dazzling march of the prairie flowers from the pasqueflowers, marsh marigolds, and violets up to the stately liatris, goldenrod, and asters, annually ministered to the keen sense of beauty in the growing boy. The flowers and birds delighted him as a child; when he had grown old he would stop in sheer delight to watch a thrasher or a cardinal, murmuring endearments to the lovely bird.

Of course, in a farm homestead, the eldest son must speedily learn to do his share of farm work. Laurence Larson was eight when he began to plough; first assigned as herdsman to the family cows, he deputed that duty to younger brothers. He performed in turn the various farm tasks; probably they helped, along with his sturdy inherited physique, to lay up the reserves of resistance that were to enable him in his later years to fight his way through one desperate illness after another.

The household in which he grew up was Lutheran, but deeply tinged with the pietistic spirit of self-examination which the Haugean movement had brought into the Norwegian church. Minister after minister, settled or itinerant, seminary trained pastors or uneducated lay-

men ordained to preach in their later years, passed through the Norwegian community that dominated Winnebago County; their teachings ranged from orthodox Lutheranism to Quakerism and to antinomianism; all helped to develop young Larson's mental alertness. One of them, Knud Salveson, a self-educated preacher who had had but a few days of formal schooling in his whole life, divined the boy's intellectual promise and insisted that he be trained for an intellectual career. This meant, of course, becoming a clergyman; but the boy, though duly confirmed in the Lutheran faith, felt no call to the ministry. At length, it was agreed that he should be a teacher.

When at the age of eighteen he began to teach in the local schools, his formal preparation was limited to indifferent rural schools under a succession of teachers, good and bad, and to teachers' institutes. But his qualifications were much more extensive. He read everything that came to his hand in English, in Norwegian, even in the older dialects. He had good groundings in literature and in history. And when he felt additional preparation necessary in his calling and went to Drake University to combine a preparatory and college course, his achievements in reading put him on an equality with students trained in high schools.

His departure from home influences accelerated a change already begun in his outlook on American life. In their migration, his family, with the additional handicap of not understanding English, had undergone the hardships and injustices that most immigrants to America since the Pilgrim fathers have suffered. They were given dirty and insufficient accommodations; they were harshly treated; they were overcharged; they were

cheated. In their first Iowa home they worked for wages and sometimes were not paid or were ill-used. Their indignation smoldered against the shifty natives whom they had encountered and by whom they judged the rest of America. In moral wrath against their business and political knaveries, when the Norwegians attained a majority in the county they took over the control of its government, and themselves kept its more important offices. Because of the issues of slavery and temperance they usually, in national affairs, called themselves Prohibitionists or Republicans.

It was inevitable that the youth should imbibe the indignations and prejudices of his elders. Indeed his pride in his race, in its sturdy integrity, in what it stood for in fifteen centuries of European civilization abode by him to the end of his life. At Wisconsin, at Illinois, he was an enthusiastic member of societies admission to which was based on Scandinavian descent. He took them very seriously and had not the best opinion of persons who were eligible and yet refused to join them. Yet as he grew to manhood he felt increasingly that in the native American culture, tracing largely to English sources in colonial times, and expressing itself in American institutions, there also was something fine and valid. To the end he never quite comprehended indeed that descendants of colonial stock had an ancestral tradition of self-sacrifice and courage, for men and women alike, very like what he admired in his own race. That for a time escaped him; but before he left home he was beginning to look with interest and favor, so far as he was able to observe them, on the better sorts of American culture. When he came to Drake to find himself the only Norseman there the process accelerated. By 1894,

when he graduated after four and one-half years of preparatory and college work and one year spent in teaching school to help pay his expenses, he had definitely cast in his lot with the broader American world.

The analogy of the immigrant who loves his native land as a mother and America as a wife is trite. In Laurence Larson's case it had reality, when on December 25, 1895 he married his college mate, Lillian May Dodson. Of her long descent from American colonial ancestors he was always very proud; and he regarded her as his preceptress in the finer things of the American spirit. Along with her this son of the Norwegian fjords took up his membership in that Congregational denomination that stems back to obscure meeting places in the alleys of sixteenth century London and the villages of East Anglia, to be transplanted by the Pilgrim fathers to American soils.

After his graduation he spent five years as principal of an academy at Scandinavia, Wisconsin. Not too happy they were so far as his work was concerned. In his own spirit the new wine was already bursting the old bottles; and he must struggle with patrons who held sternly to the ways of the old country, and who could severely criticize an address on an altogether unrelated subject because it included no laudation of the name of Martin Luther; but they were years that taught tact, discipline and self-control, developed qualities of leadership and administration, and stimulated courage.

Aspiring to a larger career in teaching, in 1899 he began graduate work at the University of Wisconsin with a history department that would later have been recognized as the most brilliant in the country. Laurence Larson worked with Frederick J. Turner; under his direction

he wrote a master's thesis in American history. Later he appraised and recognized with reservations his greatness in his field of the American frontier; perhaps he felt him a little too much the doctrinaire; he never gave him the unquestioning idolatry so freely offered by other students.

To Charles H. Haskins his homage was whole-souled. The brilliant youth who was sometimes mistaken for a freshman, with his unbounded energy, vast learning, and insatiable appetite for facts too varied to be fitted under any one formula, gave the bent to Laurence Larson's scholarship. Larson's language equipment steadily enlarged and improved through the years, until it included the classical tongues and nearly all the languages of western Europe. He was well fitted for work on the history of medieval Europe, and the great Wisconsin professors of Scandinavian and Germanic languages, notably Julius Olson who became his good friend, could give him the few remaining linguistic weapons he required. He completed a sound and admirable doctoral dissertation in 1902 on "The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest." He had already taken his master's degree in 1900; and he now looked for a place to do his life's work.

College and university vacancies in history in those days were not plentiful. In too many denominational colleges it was still the rule that ministers, superannuated because their preaching could no longer be listened to without boredom, could be provided for in their old age because "anyone could teach history."

Between 1902 and 1907 Dr. Larson taught history in the West and East Division high schools of Milwaukee. He enjoyed his work. He followed with interest the

careers of his students as they rose, some of them, to high professional posts. Always interested in his immediate environment he wrote a *Financial and Administrative History of Milwaukee*, published in 1908. But he always hoped for a college or university position in his chosen field; and after several disappointments such as come to everyone he was summoned to the University of Illinois in 1907, with the rank of associate in history.

Among its neighbor state universities, the University of Illinois was as one born out of due time. Instituted at the end of the Civil War as a school of agriculture and the mechanic arts, its projectors had wrathfully recollected that its first Regent was an ex-school superintendent and Baptist minister when he insisted on giving the curriculum a faint tinge of the liberal arts. The institution grew slowly, long overshadowed on its liberal arts side by the denominational colleges of the state. Not until 1894 did Evarts Boutell Greene, its first whole-time teacher of history, begin building a department of history. He drew in good men, only to see them go elsewhere in a year or two; he had to be content with mediocre ones who stayed longer. But he labored on. Clarence Walworth Alvord, who had aspired to write of the Italian medieval city states and had perforce to teach mathematics, ancient history, and divers other subjects, finally launched in 1906 on his brilliant career in western history. In the same year he drew in Guy Stanton Ford to be professor of modern European history. The next year he called Louis J. Paetow to an associateship in medieval history and Laurence M. Larson to one in English history.

At last the University of Illinois History Department



Laurence M. Larson
From a photograph taken about 1908

was ready to grow, and Larson was prepared to grow with it. He had mastered the art of teaching long before the rise of courses in education so-called; he could hold the attention of the elementary school child, awaken the interest of the high school adolescent, and catch the imagination of the college student. In the days when Larson went through college, forensic ability was highly prized and one like him who did all things thoroughly was bound to become a forceful lecturer and a teacher whose students never forgot him.

Larson's teaching ability was backed by a sound, exact and meticulous scholarship, based on a thorough mastery of languages. But it never became pedantic, always remaining simple and direct. His work never showed the mark of the tool; it never smelled of the lamp. A series of books punctuated the passing years—a life of Canute the Great in 1912, a short history of England in 1915, a longer history of England for college students in 1924. In 1917 he issued a scholarly edition and translation of *The King's Mirror*, a strange book on kingcraft by a medieval Norwegian king; in 1935 he published an even more elaborate edition of early Norwegian laws. Last of all was a collection of shorter essays on America, *The Changing West*, published within a few months of his death.

Further his shorter studies and articles multiplied, always with cautious and exact scholarship beneath their straightforward and simple form. Quite often they dealt with the points at which his medieval Scandinavian world touched America. He wrote of John Scolvus, the Dane whose North American landfall antedated Cabot's by twenty years. He labored patiently and always in good humor to convert the slaves of the Ken-

sington Rune Stone from their strange faith that a party of fourteenth century Scandinavians, come down in a fortnight from Hudson Bay to the present Minnesota, had laboriously graven on stone a strange runic inscription equally futile as message or as memorial, had buried it in the middle of the American wilderness, and had then passed on to father white Indians and to scatter allegedly Norse axes, spear heads, and whatnot throughout all the surrounding regions.

Larson was not merely a keen scholar on his own account. He was also an inspiration to scholarly achievement in his colleagues and a wise, constructive and valuable critic of their work. Quite early he taught himself the editorial craft, the duties of revising the work of another for publication, and of assuring uniformity in format, capitalization, punctuation, methods of citation and so on. He had an infinite patience and a decided ability in such work. In his day he was a valuable member of the editorial committee of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Very many of his colleagues' books owed much to his suggestions and encouragement. In his later years they stood ranked in his library with appropriate inscriptions of gratitude.

Not only as teacher and scholar did he mark himself as peculiarly valuable to the University and its history department. He early developed a remarkable ability at administration. He could read a set of regulations and see the loopholes in them, and could detect the improper things that were done in consequence. Barely had he come to the University when he discovered an abuse of the entrance examination system and secured its correction.

More important still he demonstrated his capacity for

handling men. This quality is rare indeed. People completely devoid of it are often pathetically unaware of the fact; and pitifully they crave executive power, unaware of the surety that they would, if long allowed the exercise of it, inevitably demoralize and disrupt the organization whose control they covet.

Professor Larson's skill was partly a genuine interest and liking for people, partly the instinct never to nag. He let people do things their own way so far as possible; he settled questions in informal conversation with the persons affected; he never displayed authority, and led without ever seeming to direct. Add to this a keen interest in his subordinates' welfare and a desire to promote it at all times before his own and you have his measure as an executive.

Something deeper there was also. Command is exercised by virtue of mental or moral superiority. Professor Larson had them both. No man however prejudiced against him could help admitting a high moral sense and purpose in him, a determination to do what was just and right whatever the interests involved, an ability to get out of his own intellectual light on a question. I have seen him many times rise to speak in University faculty and senate. Only with one other man have I ever sensed the same instinctive reaction on the part of his audience that there was no special pleading, no hidden interest in his advocacies, no intent to plead for anything not intrinsically right and just.

For all these reasons, under a department head wise to understand his worth, Larson remained and throve at Illinois. Between 1907 and 1914 the University increased in numbers, in income and prestige. Men came and went; the department was enlarged and Larson was steadily

promoted—assistant professor in 1908, associate professor in 1912, professor in 1913.

Then came 1914 and after it 1917. Professor Larson's opinions were pro-ally; but they were intelligently formed on the basis of careful reading and study of both sides of the situation. "While the rest of us," Professor Alvord once said to me, "read one newspaper, Larson reads three or four." With the entrance of the United States into the struggle, he earnestly cast about to see what best he could do to assist. He was past military age; but when foodstuffs seemed the vital element in success, he talked of going on the farm, saying with pride that there he still knew how to do a day's work.

Finally, with his colleagues departing to one glittering field of war service or another on boards or commissions, his duty seemed to be in the daily task, keeping the University organization of teaching and research alive for the future, and helping to give the University's Student Army Training Corps a little intellectual training. With army officers inclined to domineer, with students too excited to take sane instruction, the task was more useful than grateful. Once he carried a tempting call to war work at Washington to the head of his department, whom few men ever saw when he was not simple, kindly, and urbane. Reporting the head's reception of his proposed departure, Professor Larson remarked to another person, "Well, he didn't exactly swear!" Admitting that his services to the University were essential, Professor Larson remained at his post.

With the end of the war and the autumn of 1919, new problems came upon the University and the history department. Students descended in floods. In the army the advantages of education as evidenced in the superior

position of their college-trained officers had come home to them; their instruction in war aims had made them aware of what history could teach them about the international world. By thousands they confronted the University and the department. Before the war, teaching had been done in small classes and quiz sections, carefully kept down in size. Now they filled to overflowing. Instructors must put forth special efforts to see that standards were maintained under conditions formerly thought impossible. As soon as the state responded to the University's need with new appropriations to meet the constantly increasing press of numbers, it was essential to enlarge the department's course offerings and to build up its staff.

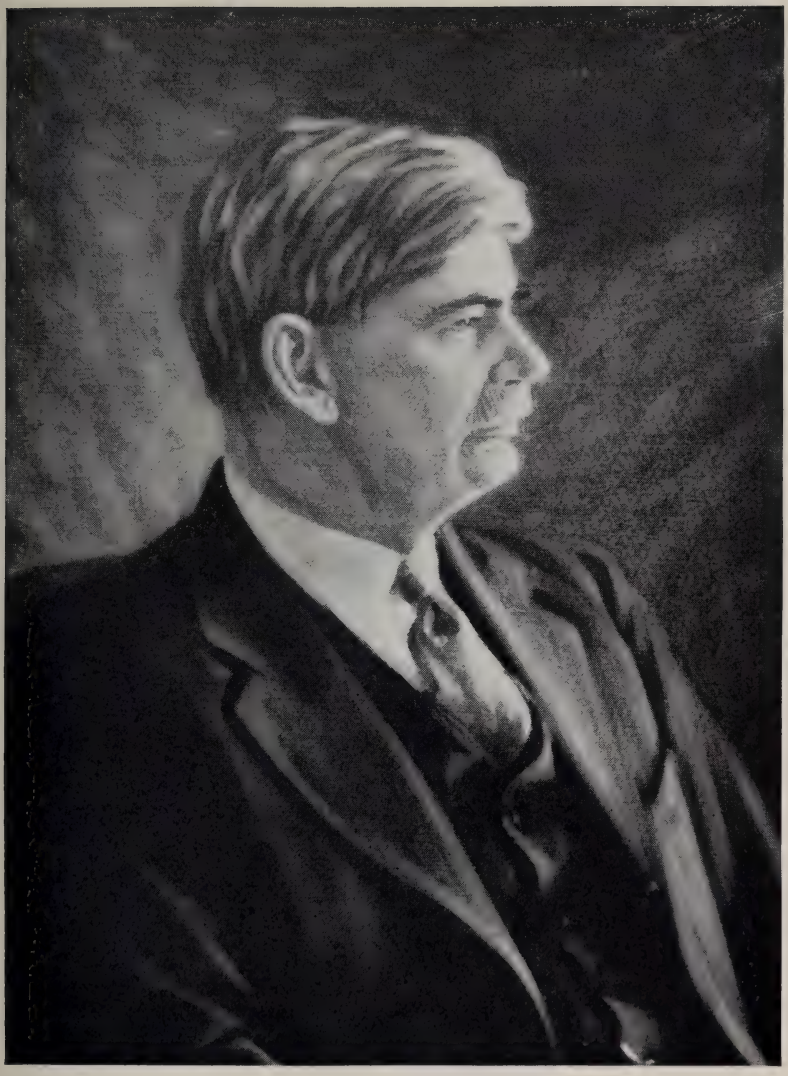
This task was turned over to Professor Larson in the fall of 1920 when Professor Greene resigned the headship to him. We might remember that the department to which Professor Larson was called in 1907 had five full-time members. The department of 1919 had eight. The department, the headship of which he relinquished in 1937, contained sixteen. Thirty-one courses were listed in 1907; forty-six in 1919; ninety-six in 1937.

All this is a sum of an infinite number of trifles, careful painstaking search for the best man for the place who could be had for what the University could spend; letting the man who proved unfitted in attainment or temperament go elsewhere; putting forth all possible efforts to hold the man who seemed to fit. Endless were the tasks of striving so far as possible to secure for men the courses they wished to teach; of composing rivalries of two aspirants for the same course; of finding ways, without impairing efficiency, for men to relinquish to others courses of which they had tired; of satisfying

heart burnings absolute and comparative respecting salaries and promotions. There was always the need of passing down administrative orders of superiors and justifying the ways of God to Man. There was endless committee and conference work in connection with the University administration. There were even the minor but provoking tasks of preparing copy and reading proof on time tables and registers, of patiently watching schedules so that each, so far as possible, might teach at the hours he desired. There were the necessary emergency readjustments after registration; there were new assistants to be hired by telegraph for unexpected overflows. There was an infinite number of interviews with students, sometimes making their demands in tones that would have drawn cutting reprimands from members of the department far inferior to Larson in prestige and rank. But Larson was always very gentle with students.

And with all these duties Professor Larson went in and out before his department for seventeen years, always a welcome office visitor, carrying out his duties by suggestion rather than direction, always unassuming, gentle, humorous and kindly. His subordinates loved him deeply. Their ordinary way of speaking of him was "Chief." They were sometimes moved to wrath because things they had expected had not been forthcoming; but they always knew that according to his sense of justice he had done his best to get his subordinates what was due them, that he had sought things for others but never for himself.

In 1923, when Professor Greene went to Columbia, Professor Larson succeeded him as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. He was also a member and for many years a director of



Laurence M. Larson
From a late portrait

the Illinois State Historical Society. Such interests might seem remote for a man whose special interests lay in England before the Norman Conquest, and in medieval Norway. But he knew too well and was too keenly interested in the west in which he grew up to be anything but a most valuable associate in such enterprises. He showed himself always sure and sound in policy, clear in judgment, alert as to details. During his service on the Library Board he saw three members leave it by death and one by resignation. He became indeed the custodian of its tradition.

His teaching was always one of his highest interests. For many years he taught by himself or his assistants the University's introductory course in English history. For almost thirty years he taught the course in English Constitutional history, recommended to all students in the University's Law School, as well as to undergraduates and graduates majoring in history and allied departments. That, and his course in Medieval Civilization remained famous from one generation of college students to another. Another course which he taught for a time was the history of the British Empire. He was a brilliant lecturer and a teacher who won the interest of his students, and at the same time held them to high standards of industry and performance. Few graduate students had the language equipment to follow in his fields of research; but he is responsible for some excellent masters' and doctors' theses. In summer sessions he was an honored guest professor at Harvard, at Columbia, at Southern California, at Wisconsin, at Montana, and elsewhere.

As a friend it is hard to find phrases to say what he meant to those privileged to change that word with him. He was a charming companion, interested in every-

thing around him, lively in conversation, but a good listener and always ready to pay the compliment of the most profound attention to persons who could scarcely tell him anything he did not already know. He had a vast fund of funny stories of his own experience, of early day ministers, farmers, teachers, and whatnot; his variety was infinite. He was at his best set down opposite a raconteur of his own mettle. The other guests were but too happy in such circumstances to listen for hours on end.

And beyond and above this he very simply, without words, could impress you with his regard for you, and make you think the better of yourself, that one with his mind and heart thought you worthy that regard. It was after all the simple innate integrity of the man that bound you to him.

Honors deservedly came upon him in his later life. His University positions were themselves such. More would have come to him had he sought them. Drake, his Alma Mater, gave him a degree of LL.D. in 1925. For a time he sat on the Council of the American Historical Association; in 1935 he was elected Second Vice-President, in 1936 First Vice-President, and in December, 1937, President of the Association. Had he lived he would have presided over the meeting of that Association to be held in Chicago in December of this year. In such honors he took a genuine pleasure; in part it was pride that a member of his race should be so honored in his adopted country; that his fellow Norsemen took the same pride in his honors made them the sweeter to him.

Almost thirty years of his career were achieved in the shadow of death. When I first knew him in 1908 he was a tall, powerful vigorous man with a hearty handclasp.

Two years later he was stricken down by pneumonia, and desperately ill. When he recovered his physician gave warning that every succeeding year of life for him was borrowed time. From that illness dated the impression of physical weakness and weariness he gave to those who had not known him in the days of his strength. Twice again in this country, once in Rome, he was stricken down by desperate illnesses of the lungs, from which his recovery seemed miraculous. Again and again he fell victim to bronchial colds which kept him in bed for weeks. In the fall of 1937, on retiring from his University duties he seemed very tired. A cold fastened on him, severe enough to confine him to his bed or to the house; it did not seem dangerous, but he did not rally from it. Intermittently he worked. He saw and talked to his friends when they called with the same pleasure as of old. For a time he seemed to be more rested. But his cough continued. Ominous symptoms appeared, disappeared, and returned again. By the first of March the situation seemed serious. On the ninth, the doctors took drastic measures; immediately upon them came the end. March 12 he was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery in Urbana. It is the Mohammedan belief that a man's body is made of the earth of the place of his interment. By deliberate choice and election, if not by this tenet, Laurence Marcellus Larson lived and died an American of the Middle West Frontier.

THE TRIALS OF A GHOST-WRITER OF LINCOLN BIOGRAPHY

Chauncey F. Black's Authorship of Lamon's Lincoln[1]

BY ALBERT V. HOUSE, JR.

IN 1929 Dr. William E. Barton, the great president's most persistent defender and interpreter, addressed the Illinois State Historical Society on the subject of "The Lincoln of the Biographers."[2] Drawing easily from his love and lore of Lincoln, he divided the biographical accumulation of seventy years into seven chronological and topical divisions. Those works which were published during the years 1860-1864 were appropriately recorded as "Campaign Biographies." Barton demonstrated that these sketchy volumes were based primarily on a minimum of information which had been obtained from Lincoln himself, although some additional material had been added from contemporary accounts of happenings during his administration. The sudden death of the war president and the ensuing worship of his memory set the tone for the second of Barton's divisions which he entitled "Lincoln, The Liberator and Martyr." Thus, these accounts were largely eulogies whose emotional content was founded on a scanty basis of fact.

[1] The writer is greatly indebted to three of his former students, Mr. Arnold Koockogey, Mrs. Jean W. Harris and Miss Anne H. Cochrane of Washington, D. C. for their valuable assistance in the research connected with this study.

[2] William E. Barton, "The Lincoln of the Biographers," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1929* (Springfield, 1930), 58-116.

Many men who had really known Lincoln, especially the Lincoln of frontier Illinois, revolted at this blend of dime novels, sermons and political oratory which was fast shaping the historical memory of one whose early life had differed little from that of many of his contemporaries in the old Northwest of the 1830's and 1840's. Likewise, some American scholars in the 1870's were beginning to realize that the writing of history and biography was more than a mere expression of the art of literature. Some glimmerings of the movement which produced the "scientific history" of the 1880's had possibly begun to affect the efforts of those who would portray the career of the martyred president. These changing viewpoints brought forth a series of compositions founded on personal experiences, diaries, official publications and recorded interviews, which Barton called "The Realistic Lincoln, 1872-1889." A fat volume of 547 pages supposedly written by Ward H. Lamon,[3] Lincoln's friend and bodyguard, introduced this debunking vogue. Its appearance started a series of literary and verbal arguments on certain disputed phases of its hero's life, such as his religion, love affairs, questionable ancestry and early attitude towards slavery. Barton was not fooled as to its authorship since he had examined the extensive correspondence of the ghost-writer, Chauncey F. Black.[4] These letters of the young son of Judge Jeremiah S. Black of Buchanan's cabinet, contain a detailed account of the entire project.[5] In addition, some notes dealing with the last four months of Buchanan's

[3] Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln; From his Birth to his Inauguration as President* (Boston, 1872).

[4] Barton, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1929*, p. 72.

[5] Jeremiah Black Papers (Library of Congress). Unless otherwise noted, all citations to manuscript correspondence refer to this collection; also, all letters of Chauncey Black to Osgood, Lamon, and Herndon are revised first drafts.

administration, as well as a draft of the suppressed twenty-first chapter of Lamon's book are in these papers.

Within less than a month after the appearance of this first work purporting to tell the whole "truth" about Lincoln, suspicious rumors circulated along newspaper row questioning Lamon's claims to authorship and mentioning Chauncey Black as the author.[6] A Boston journal remarked that Lamon's qualifications as a fountain of knowledge of Lincoln were excellent but it added:

> Those who know him and are conversant with his previous work as a writer, can hardly help questioning if some other hand did not fashion certain of these racily-worded and compactly phrased pages . . . and the treatment of Mr. Cameron's connection with the Lincoln cabinet is suspiciously suggestive of two or three magazine articles recently published over the name of Hon. Jeremiah S. Black.[7]

A lengthy editorial in the *New York Sun* commented on the unevenness in style and evidence, as well as on the political mindedness of the writer when dealing with the 1850's.[8] The accuracy of its analysis of the details and organization of the book and the pointed comments on Lamon's association with Judge Black would seem to substantiate partially Chauncey's later accusation that the publishers had co-operated in the appearance of some unfavorable reviews of the work.[9]

In spite of vigorous and spirited journalistic comment the book failed to sell. Lamon was forced to bear the brunt of criticism since revelation of the situation would make him appear foolish. In later years continuous condemnation gave the book a unique position in the succession of Lincoln biographies. Only 1,900 copies were sold

[6] W. B. Reed to Chauncey Black, June 15, 1872.
[7] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 26, 1872.
[8] *New York Sun*, July 26, 1872.
[9] Black to Herndon, Jan. 9, 1873.

and many of those disappeared from sight at the hands of Lincoln worshipers. Although students of Lincolniana such as W. H. Herndon and Jesse Weik came to know the details of Black's ghost-writing, even Lincoln's closest friends did not possess accurate knowledge until Herndon wrote Horace White in 1890 that "Chauncey F. Black, son of J. S. Black, wrote quite every word of it."[10] White evidently shared the general distrust of Herndon's veracity, but when, in December, 1910, Herndon's words were substantiated by the lengthy statement of John S. Clark, formerly of the publishing firm of James R. Osgood & Company, White gave this news to the public.[11] Since then all reputable students of Lincoln biography have come to accept the fact of Black's authorship. However, too much reliance has been placed on the Herndon-White-Clark narrative; even Beveridge,[12] the king of Lincoln's chroniclers, and Emanuel Hertz,[13] the latest compiler of materials for a biography of the first Republican president, have accepted this story without further investigation. Only Barton has consulted the Black Papers and while his general conclusions are correct,[14] close study of the correspondence when checked with press comments on the question reveals that even that most prolific of writers on the beauties of Lincoln's soul and beliefs has erred seriously. Likewise, the political significance of Lamon's work in connection with the Liberal Republican movement and the presidential candidacy of Judge David Davis have been

[10] Quoted in Joseph Fort Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon* (Cedar Rapids, 1910), 307; William E. Barton, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1920), 129; *Harpers' Weekly*, July 22, 1911.

[11] John Spencer Clark to Horace White, Dec. 5, 1910. A transcript of the letter is in the possession of the Abraham Lincoln Association, at Springfield, Illinois.

[12] Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I: 313 n., 517 n.

[13] Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln* (New York, 1938), 3, 7-8.

[14] *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1929*, p. 72.

missed by all students.

Ward Hill Lamon was born in Virginia and spent the first two decades of his life in the Old Dominion.[15] At the age of nineteen, he moved to Danville, Illinois and within two years was assisting Lincoln in that portion of his circuit-riding law business which fell within the borders of the Eighth Illinois Judicial District. He was an unusually fine physical specimen, six feet two inches tall, and seldom restrained his instincts for rough and tumble fighting, whether in the legal or political arena. Frontier gossip insinuated that his exhibitions of physical courage were inspired by hard liquor. The ex-Virginian evidently demonstrated qualities of self-reliance, resolution, and integrity that appealed to Lincoln. After working vigorously for his partner's candidacy at Chicago, Lamon was asked to accompany Lincoln to Washington as bodyguard. In the capital the President appointed his friend Marshal for the District of Columbia. In spite of his valuable service in this capacity at the White House, his blustering qualities and his continued enforcement of existing fugitive slave laws in the District of Columbia in 1861-1862 led to Radical investigations. Political animosities undoubtedly contributed to the fund of unpleasant stories about Lamon's personal habits and beliefs. Most damaging of all was the tale that he and Lincoln had become estranged after 1863, due to Lamon's Virginian viewpoint on emancipation.

Lamon resigned as Marshal in June, 1865, but remained in Washington to share a law office with Judge Jeremiah S. Black and Charles E. Hovey.[16] A real friend-

[15] The details of Lamon's life here given are largely drawn from his daughter's account: Ward H. Lamon, *Recollections of Lincoln*, edited by Dorothy Lamon Teillard (2nd ed.; Washington, 1911), xxiii-xxxiv.

[16] Barton, *The Soul of Lincoln*, 129 n.; Lamon, *Recollections*, xxxiv.

ship sprang up between Lamon and Chauncey Black. Both men were still in their thirties, and abundantly supplied with a species of bellicose brilliance which continuously led them into public, private and political storms—much to their joy. When the break in their friendship threatened in March, 1872, Lamon expressed a "desire that no trace of evidence should remain in existence which tends to prove that we, 'Chan' and myself, whose relations had always been so pleasant and confidential, who for so many years shared our mutual joys and sorrows—and who so long climbed the rough and rugged hill of adversity together with our hearts sometimes dragging on the ground with scarce one sympathizing friend. . ."[17] have fallen out.

The combined knowledge of the inside politics of the decade 1855-1865 which these two young men possessed was unusual, because of Lamon's association with Lincoln and Chauncey's service as his father's amanuensis. Out of this unusual friendship was born the project of a biography of Lincoln. Their combination of talents, experiences and contacts with influential citizens promised a book which would bring fame and fortune to both. Chauncey's facile pen and Pennsylvania Democratic background was to balance Lamon's knowledge of Lincoln in Illinois and Washington.

As the project took shape Lamon was successful in securing the use of a large portion of W. H. Herndon's voluminous collection of material which was a veritable unworked gold mine of fact and fancy on Lincoln's career to 1860. Lamon seems to have paid Herndon $2,000 for this privilege, although Herndon's own let-

[17] Lamon to Black, March 31, 1872.

ters are contradictory as to the exact amount paid.[18] Lamon also began the sifting of his own papers for information on Lincoln's years in Washington. Black relied on his father's intimate knowledge of the political history of the 1850's and even secured the Judge's tentative promise to write the last chapter of the first volume, which was to tell the inside story of the last weeks of Buchanan's administration.[19] Young Black also secured access to the diary of Donn Piatt[20] and conducted extensive research in available newspapers, published documents and speeches. Since the reading public might fail to appreciate the virtues of a volume on Lincoln which had been composed by the son of a member of Buchanan's cabinet, it was decided to have Lamon's name appear as the sole author. These plans were set to paper in a contract between Lamon and Chauncey Black dated December 10, 1869. This contract reads as follows:

Memorandum of Agreement between Ward H. Lamon and Chauncey F. Black.

It is proposed by the parties to prepare and publish a just, full, and impartial biography of Abraham Lincoln, out of the best authentic materials that can be obtained.

Lamon agrees to furnish papers purchased by him from W. H. Herndon and to get at his own expense all the other documents and papers which may be found within his possible reach, and have them properly verified.

[18] Herndon's original offer to Lamon, dated March 17, 1869, called for $4,000; "$2,000 down and . . . $2,000 in one and two years, drawing 10% per annum from date till period." Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln*, 61. Also a memorandum in *ibid.*, 61-62,dated Sept. 17, 1869, says: "I have this day sold to W. H. Lamon of Washington, D. C.,my Lincoln records in three volumes for the consideration of four thousand dollars cash in hand paid." However, on January 4 and February 24, 1873, Herndon told Black that Lamon had paid only $2,000. In the second letter Herndon said: "I can say that by our contract I was to get $2,000 & no more & no less." Black evidently believed that Lamon had deceived him since on January 3, 1874, he wrote the publishers that Lamon had procured his contract with him, "upon his statement that he paid Herndon $4,000 for the Herndon records, while in truth he paid him but $2,000 making for himself and original investment of only $500"

[19] Lamon to Black, June 5, 1871.

[20] Black to Herndon, Jan. 9, 1873.

C. F. Black agrees to write the text of the book and arrange the materials for publication, and generally to perform the duties of an editor, as well as to furnish such material as may be possessed or obtainable by him.

C. F. Black is to pay Lamon $1,500.00 or secure payment thereof.

In consideration of the premises the parties herein named will be joint proprietors of the book, equally entitled to the copyright, and to an even share of any profits which may be made by publication.

The work is to be done without delay and the publication to be made as rapidly as may be consistent with the joint interests herein provided for. Copyright shall be secured in the names of both parties or of such third person as may be designated by them. Lamon's name is to appear on the title page as the sole author of the book, unless otherwise agreed upon hereafter.

Lamon shall have a right to suppress names or facts found in the documents furnished by him wherever he is bound to do so by any promise he has heretofore made expressly or impliedly. As to other facts and the names by which they are verified it is agreed that a free but judicious use shall be made of them to the end that the interest and value of the book shall be increased. In cases where the judgement of the parties differ concerning the omission or insertion of anything the question shall be submitted to J. S. Black and David Davis whose advice on the subject shall be followed.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 10th day of December 1869.

WARD H. LAMON (Seal)
CHAUNCEY F. BLACK (Seal)[21]

With all procedural details settled by the contract, the young literary adventurers turned to the task of actually producing a manuscript. All of 1870 and a large part of 1871 were devoted to the painful process of composition. Correspondence between the authors reveals that despite good intentions and the expenditure of much energy and ink, Lamon, who had moved to Martinsburg, West Virginia, was not carrying his share of the load.[22] Black

[21] Copy in Black Papers.

[22] Lamon to Black, June 5 and 25, 1871. In Black to J. R. Osgood and Company, June 20, 1872, Lamon's contributions are described as follows: "He was a mere speculator in Herndon's work and mine. He did not prepare, arrange or digest any part of the materials. He did not write a line of the book, prepare a note, or render me any

did not complain at the time but was forced to assume sole direction of production. Lacking the services of an intelligent critic, relying on his own research and political viewpoints absorbed from his father, Black allowed his flow of language to carry him into many delicate controversies on politics and personalities. Yet he made a determined effort to bulwark his narrative with seemingly irrefutable testimony. Undoubtedly too much space was devoted to Lincoln's love affairs, questionable ancestry, and lack of conventional religious beliefs. He presented his evidence on these points in a belligerent fashion which was distinctly lacking in good taste. In depicting Buchanan's handling of "Bleeding Kansas" and Douglas' attempts to corral the Democratic Party, Black included details which seriously undermined the concepts widely held by Republicans in the 1870's.

Meanwhile, Lamon was enjoying himself by frightening many of his old Lincoln companions with wild stories of the dynamite which would explode when his book was unveiled. The curiosity of the reading public and the publishing fraternity was so roused that James R. Osgood & Company of Boston were willing to make a liberal contract with Lamon. This firm was one of the oldest and most respected houses in the country, formerly doing business as Ticknor and Fields and also as Fields, Osgood & Company. The *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, probably the finest literary journals of the period, appeared under their auspices.

assistance whatever for the good reason that he was wholly incapable of doing any of these things, and frankly acknowledged it. But he had an insane idea that he would like to be considered an author for any period however brief. . . . " The incomplete brief of a threatened suit in equity against Lamon and Osgood contains similar charges. The brief is in the Black Papers, written by Judge and Chauncey Black.

In all respects this house was considered reputable, safe, and loyal to American—meaning Republican—traditions. James R. Osgood himself handled all preliminary details connected with the negotiating of the contract.[23] He and John Spencer Clark, a member of his staff, evidently were doubtful of Black's ability to turn out an impartial, scholarly, and truthful account of Lincoln, but were reassured by a personal conference with Black.[24] They seemingly could not resist the salesmanship of Lamon and the prospects of the profits from such a venture.

The publishing contract was drawn up on September 20, 1871. The terms violated Lamon's agreement with Black since the copyright was to be secured solely in Lamon's name. A royalty of one dollar per copy was promised and the sale price of the copyright was set at $5,000, with $2,000 payable in advance by Osgood & Company and the remaining $3,000 upon delivery of the manuscript. An option on Volume Two was guaranteed to the publishers. On the same day, Lamon acknowledged receipt of $2,000 from the firm and assigned "one undivided half of the within contract to Chauncey F. Black of York, Pa." These endorsements were written on a copy of the contract and mailed to Black.[25]

All of the manuscript except the twenty-first chapter was delivered to the publishers during the fall of 1871 and that final chapter which later was the cause of much dispute was sent on to Boston early in February, 1872. Galley proofs were sent to Black and by him corrected and promptly returned. Rapid progress in the typeset-

[23] Osgood to Lamon, June 20, 1871.

[24] J. S. Clark to Horace White, Dec. 5, 1910. Transcript is in the possession of the Abraham Lincoln Association.

[25] Copy of contract signed by both Osgood and Lamon is in the Black Papers.

ting caused the authors to expect publication in February or early March, 1872. The publishers seemed especially pleased with Black's handling of his editorial duties. Suddenly in January, 1872, J. R. Osgood began to make suggestions for minor changes in the document. These requests for alteration grew in scope and resulted in continued postponement of the publishing date. He first asked that the few pages which contained the "Chronicles" of contemporaneous events in Lincoln's life should be stricken out. Black agreed and the necessary recasting of succeeding pages was accomplished.[26] On February 2, 1872, Osgood asked Black to forward material to be used as the basis for trade announcements, and the next day followed with a telegram which repeated the demand and also contained the surprising news that Lamon was in Boston.[27]

After Lamon's visit had continued for a week Black was told by Osgood:

> Proofs will be delayed somewhat by Col. Lamon's desire to keep the last chapter standing for some time for alterations.

A postscript to this communication added:

> Col. Lamon will explain to you my very strong objections to portions of the last chapter.[28]

On the same day, February 9, Lamon wrote Chauncey:

> Osgood & Co. are not pleased with that last chapter and says it is too partizan in its nature and will destroy the effect of the other chapters for fairness and plain truth. He says he hopes we can soon modify it in tone when he will pay last installment. I told him that I should want him to pay one thousand now if not more and am to

[26] Osgood to Black, Jan. 26 and Feb. 2, 1872.

[27] Osgood to Black, Feb. 2 and 3, 1872. The preliminary draft of this five-page announcement is in the Black Papers. Black was not at all modest in his evaluation of his work.

[28] Osgood to Black, Feb. 9, 1872.

see him again this evening. I have the last chap. printed and presume you have received proofs sheets. I have just received telegrams from prominent men in Washington and the West asking me to wait over here until after Sunday that parties from the West will be here to see me. I dont *know* what the Devil they want—and care as little.[29]

After returning to West Virginia, Lamon sent a short note to Black saying:

Enclosed find letter just recd from Osgood & Co. It explains itself—what do you say to leaving out the 21st chapter altogether. I expect it had better be done. Let me hear from you at once—return Osgood's letter when read.[30]

The next week, on March 2, Osgood casually announced to Black:

As you will no doubt have learned from Mr. Lamon before this, he has decided to omit the last chapter from his book. I feel sure this will be for the good of the book and I think mature reflection will lead you to the same conclusion.

We have now made arrangements to have the whole book in type on Monday next, and probably it will all reach you by Wednesday. It will be a benefit to us if you can return it on the same day, so that it will reach here on the morning of Friday the 8th, Mr. Lamon will be here on that day to settle finally all outstanding matters connected with the publication. . . .[31]

This brief survey of correspondence introduces many of the questions which later led to bitter disputes. Most noticeable is Lamon's failure to abide by the terms of his contract with Black by neglecting to submit the question of the omission of the twenty-first chapter, which was founded on material supplied solely by Black and should have been referred to Judges Davis and Black for decision.[32] These letters also introduce Lamon's

[29] Lamon to Black, Feb. 9, 1872.

[30] Lamon to Black, Feb. 26, 1872.

[31] Osgood to Black, March 2, 1872. The information given in this letter was used by Judge Black and his son, Chauncey, in drawing up the brief of a suit in equity to restrain the publishers from putting the "mangled" book on the market.

[32] See contract, *ante*, p. 268.

mysterious conferences with "parties from the West" who went to Boston to meet him. The letter of March 2 shows that the publishers expected to have the volume ready for the public within two weeks; thus, continued postponement of the publishing date until June 1 must be explained. Evidence on both sides of these problems was offered at the time by the two Blacks, Lamon and Osgood. In 1873-1875, Herndon offered valuable suggestions concerning the visits of the "parties from the West" and in 1910 John Spencer Clark of Osgood & Company offered his version of the whole affair, although the mist of four decades blurred the accuracy of his memory.[33] Finally, in 1929, after hurriedly perusing the Black Papers, Barton reported:

[33] The following excerpts from Clark's statement are significant:

"While the proofs of the early chapters as they came in to me showed a lack of appreciation of the finer qualities of Mr. Lincoln's nature, and a disposition to keep the rougher coarser aspects of his pioneer life prominent, I saw nothing I I could positively object to until I received the proofs of Chapter XV, purporting to give a brief history of the Kansas struggle. Here I saw well known historic facts perverted to shield the pro-slavery democratic party from "high crimes and Misdemeanors" in their attempt to bring in Kansas as a slave state. I protested to Colonel Lamon that the account not only was untrue, but was also wholly inconsistent with Mr. Lincoln's position on the Kansas question. After considerable discussion and the exhibition of much feeling on the part of Mr. Black, Colonel Lamon fully sustained me and authorized me to substitute the text as it now stands in place of what had been prepared by Mr. Black.

"This experience with the Kansas matter made me suspicious of Mr. Black's good faith, and when the proofs came in of the chapter pretending to give an historic record of the very memorable period between Mr. Lincoln's election and his inauguration, it was too evident that justice to Mr. Lincoln during this critical period was sacrificed to an effort to extenuate if not excuse the shambling policy of the Buchanan administration—a policy which weakly supported the Constitution with one hand, while attacking it vigorously with the other. I put the matter squarely before Colonel Lamon, and he saw the unwisdom, if not the absurdity, of compromising Mr. Lincoln in the slightest degree at this great period when in the tremendous swirl of political complications his was the sanest mind of all—sanest not only because he stood for the Union, but also for the inherent power of the Union under the Constitution to protect itself.

"Mr. Black's effort to condone the interpretation of the Constitution by the Buchanan administration during its last days—an interpretation which Mr. Lincoln had to fight during his whole term in a Life of Lincoln, was therefore unceremoniously cut out, as appears at the bottom of Page 527; and although I have not a distinct recollection of the details that followed, I do know that Mr. Black was greatly angered, and that there was a split, and that we got no more copy for the work.

A twenty-first chapter, intended for the first volume, was suppressed, and the manuscript of that chapter, which I discovered in the Library of Congress, is in the handwriting of Chauncey F. Black, and accompanied by a manuscript, on which the chapter is manifestly based, in the handwriting of Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, who had been Secretary of War under Buchanan and was a strong opponent of Lincoln. . . . The publishers, James F. Osgood & Company of Boston, declining to issue the second volume offered the plates and unbound sheets of the first volume to both Lamon and Chauncey F. Black, their letters being in the Library of Congress.[34]

The above excerpt from Barton contains much that is true, a few inexcusable mistakes of detail, and some false interpretations. The middle initial of the publishing house is "R" and not "F." Next, Judge Black was Secretary of State and Attorney-General under Buchanan, but never Secretary of War. Next, the handwriting of the notes on which the suppressed chapter is based is not that of J. S. Black, either his right hand which he used before an accident in 1869 deprived him of its use, or his left-handed style which he perfected soon after that date. The handwriting of these notes is the same as that on a separate sheet which contains the opening paragraph of Buchanan's own defense which was first published in London by James Buchanan, ex-President of the United States of America.[35] While these notes were not written in Buchanan's hand, the script may well be that of a secretary of the ex-President. On the folder containing these notes Barton has written

"Colonel Lamon impressed me as a man of intelligence and good sense, gained by a sort of rough and tumble experience, and while in no way a man of literary culture or positive convictions in regard to the higher phases of Mr. Lincoln's character, he was an admirer of Mr. Lincoln as an honest political statesman, and in the matter of having Mr. Lincoln's life truly set forth he only needed to have the truth shown him to stand by it."

[34] Barton, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1929*, p. 72.

[35] James Buchanan, *The Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (London, 1865). This was reprinted in New York in 1866 under the title of *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion*, and also as Volume XII of *The Works of James Buchanan*, edited by John Bassett Moore (Philadelphia and London, 1908-1911).

his profound judgment, weakly basing it on the fact that J. S. Black's signature appears on one of the more than one hundred pages. However, this signature is in the Judge's left hand, thus dating the sheets at least four years after Buchanan's book appeared in print. To complete the picture, in 1931, Prof. Roy F. Nichols, whose researches into the Pennsylvania Democracy of the 1850's have been considerable, identified these notes as a copy of Buchanan's own defense which the Judge never returned to him.[36] In addition, Barton failed to mention in print that there are two drafts of the suppressed chapter in this collection. Also, he neglected to point out that Osgood and Company offered to sell the plates and sheets only after young Black had pressed for such a sale, that Lamon's permission for the sale was never granted, and that Osgood's asking price was rather high—much more than a comparatively poor man could hope to meet.[37]

A close comparison of the style, materials and interpretations of Buchanan's notes, his published book, and the two drafts of Black's manuscript reveals much that is significant. The second draft of the manuscript chapter appears to be only a clean copy of the first, although only a part of it is in the younger Black's hand. This second draft suggests that its author relied more strongly on Buchanan's published book than on the notes, although at times Black out-Buchananed Buchanan in his ragings on vital points. There are some major similarities and almost word for word adoptions from either the notes or the book on the following points: first, the lack of prompt congressional action on reports contain-

[36] Notation of Nichols on folder containing the notes.

[37] Osgood to Black, June 30, July 12, Sept. 6, Nov. 5, 25, 28, and Dec. 24, 1873; Black to Osgood, July 8, Sept. 3, 26, 27, Nov. 22, and Dec. 17, 1873.

ing proposed compromises;[38] second, Gen. Winfield Scott's views on secession and the garrisoning of southern forts;[39] third, Buchanan's appeals to Congress for constitutional amendments;[40] fourth, the dangerous results of Lincoln's election;[41] fifth, abusive treatment of all abolitionists;[42] sixth, the story of the Crittenden Amendment;[43] and finally Buchanan's liability to impeachment proceedings.[44] Yet there are some differences of interpretation obviously supplied from Judge Black's own papers on the story of the *Star of the West*,[45] and on Buchanan's message to the South Carolina commissioners, which was written by the Judge.[46]

The Boston conferences of Lamon with "parties from the West" deserve detailed investigation, as a possible explanation of his willingness to tolerate considerable changes in the book. The Horace White version of the methods and motives of David Davis and Leonard Swett in forcing Lamon to agree to radical changes in the work was accepted by both Barton and Hertz.[47] Barton still further substantiated the details by correspondence with Weik and reference to an article in the *New York Tribune* of January 25, 1879. According to this tradition Swett and Davis induced Lamon to bring his manuscript to Chicago and there forced him to expunge certain references to Lincoln's supposed illegitimacy and other un-

[38] Buchanan's notes, 51 ff.; C. F. Black's second draft, 62-63; Buchanan, *Buchanan's Administration*, 157-58.
[39] Buchanan's notes, 37-44; Black's draft, 69-70; *Buchanan's Administration*, 103 ff.
[40] Buchanan's notes, 22-23; Black's draft, 55; *Buchanan's Administration*, 130-33.
[41] Buchanan's notes, 16; Black's draft, 1; *Buchanan's Administration*, 108-109.
[42] Black's draft, 2 ff., 19; *Buchanan's Administration*, 9 ff.
[43] Buchanan's notes, 24 ff.; Black's draft, 20; *Buchanan's Administration*, 134-52.
[44] Buchanan's notes, 56; Black's draft, 61; *Buchanan's Administration*, 161.
[45] Buchanan's notes, 81-84; Black's draft, 64-68; *Buchanan's Administration*, 189-92.
[46] Buchanan's notes, 79; Black's draft, 55; *Buchanan's Administration*, 182.
[47] William E. Barton, *The Paternity of Lincoln* (New York, 1920), 330-35; Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln*, 8.

complimentary passages out of deference to Lincoln's memory and the surviving members of his family. This story may be true as far as it goes, but political prospects as well as altruism and reverence were also in the picture. The following letters sent to Lamon in 1871, and forwarded to Black while the manuscript was still in preparation, are very revealing:

Bloomington, Ill.
May 7, 1871

Dear Lamon—

I take it for granted you in common with other personal friends of Judge Davis are willing to make any *reasonable* sacrifice to promote his interests in the direction of the Presidency. I am also impressed with the belief that you are much devoted (as you should be) to your forthcoming life of Mr. Lincoln. The point at which I am driving is this—to ask in behalf of the interest of Judge Davis that you defer the publication of your book until in the progress of events it shall be determined how the Judge stands in relation to the next contest for the Presidency. I am induced to make this request for two reasons—First I infer from your standpoint in the administration of Mr. Lincoln and your intimate knowledge of the history of the country during that period, that the tone of your work and its revelations of what is now hidden from the world will create a commotion in political parties and disparage to some extent the lofty pretensions [of those] who regard their own individual existence as great land marks of national salvation—Second, Your intimate relations to Judge Davis for the past twenty years will to some extent connect him with the work and might have a tendency to stir up an opposition which under other circumstances might remain dormant during the pendency of the Presidential question as connected with the Judge. I hope you will fully appreciate the fact that there are none of Davis friends who desire to say or do ought which would defeat the publication of your book but some with whom I have conversed are fearful that it might drive from his support some influences which we hope will be for him.

I trust that you will put upon this letter that construction which the purity of my purpose warrants, and not regard it as any attempt upon my part to interfere with the publication of what I am led to believe will be the most truthful history and life of Mr. Lincoln yet published.

We are led to believe that by a careful arrangement of influences the Judge may get the nomination. Upon the receipt of this letter please send me your new notions about the matter. . . .

Yours,

L. WELDON.

Personal—Private and Confidential

LINCOLN, ILLS.
June 12, 1871

FRIEND LAMON

. . . I am really very anxious that you should not publish your life of Mr. Lincoln or if you do publish it that you should delay it for a few months or years. I am sure that it will injure you & some of your friends if published now. It is too soon after Mr. Lincoln's death if there were no other reason. But unless I am greatly misinformed there are things in the book that will make it very offensive to very many of the people of this Country. And they will believe that some of your nearest and dearest friends are partly responsible for its publication—that you would not have published it without showing it to them & that they acquiesced in its publication if they did not advise it. You never can make the world believe that one mutual friend, Judge Davis did not know the contents of your history & that you would have published it if he had advised you not to do so. This friendship for you has been so great, so long continued & so well known that nearly everybody will believe that he could have prevented its publication & would not do it. They will be very likely to consider you the maker and him the endorser of the book—& *everything in it*. And if for any reason that now exists or that may exist hereafter any person or party wishes to injure Judge Davis in the estimation of that mighty power that Mr. Lincoln called "the plain people" they will use your book against him just the same as if he was its author. Hill, Judge Davis is the best friend you or I ever had. You would not do anything to injure him knowingly. . . . I have thought about this matter a great deal & my conviction is very strong that you ought to hold on. Circumstances may arise in the near future in which your Book might be used to ruin him. Remember that prudence is one of the cardinal virtues. Delay the publication. If only I could see you I am satisfied that I could convince [you] that it is best. . . .

Truly your friend

SAM'L C. PARKS.

The advice contained in these letters was probably forcibly repeated by the "parties from the West" who journeyed to Boston in February, 1872.[48] Before his conferences with these "Davis supporters" Lamon had meticulously observed the terms of his contract with Black by referring to him all contemplated changes in the book. Following these meetings, he proposed the omission of the twenty-first chapter and, after a conference with Black and Osgood in New York, at which Black refused to agree to the suggested alterations,[49] Lamon gave the publishers carte blanche on all changes and turned his attention to the convention of the Liberal Republicans to be held in Cincinnati on May 1, 1872. This evidence suggests that the session with Lamon which Swett reported to Horace White may have been held in Boston rather than Chicago. If political considerations were the motivating factor, obviously the fact of the Boston trip could not be revealed.[50] On January 24, 1873, Herndon relayed similar rumors to Black in a letter saying:

> I regret that your book was tampered with. As I understand a man went all the way from Ills. to Boston or elsewhere East & forced Lamon to do as he did.[51]

On August 25, 1873, Herndon repeated the charge as follows:

[48] Lamon to Black, Feb. 9, 1872.

[49] Telegram, Lamon to Black, March 10, 1872; brief of projected lawsuit; Black to Osgood, May 23, 1872.

[50] It is possible that Lamon took the proofs with him to the Cincinnati convention, since all of the men who might have figured in any such session were in that city. However, if this were true, Lamon definitely lied to Black on April 20 and May 5, 1872, when he reported that he had not heard from the publishers since late in March. In all probability Lamon never saw any of the proofs except on his visits to Boston and New York, since available evidence strongly points to the conclusion that all proofs were sent directly to Black and by him returned to Boston; Lamon was living in West Virginia during the weeks when the proofs were being corrected.

[51] Herndon to Black, Jan. 24, 1873.

Black, I have always felt a sympathy for you in the line of your book treatment. I do not know that any person was bribed, but a Mr. Fell from this state did go on East and see Lamon & the publishers. What followed & what was done I do not know.[52]

Black's convictions on the circumstances which caused Lamon to agree to the changes are not known since he discussed the question only twice in his correspondence: first, in a letter to Herndon on January 9, 1873, and second, in a letter addressed to the publishers on January 3, 1874 when he was in the midst of delicate negotiations for the purchase of the bookplates. He then said flatly:

What induced Mr. Lamon to turn against me—his associate—and the book he had so many times *approved* in the face of his then fresh and repeated expressions of ignorance and amazement concerning the unauthorized changes, I know not.[53]

A perusal of the press reports[54] and limited literature[55] on the Cincinnati convention of the Liberal Republicans shows that all of the Illinois supporters of Davis mentioned in this correspondence were present and claiming that their candidate was the heir to the Lincoln tradition. This list includes Lawrence Weldon, Samuel C. Parks, Leonard Swett, Jesse W. Fell, and Ward Lamon

[52] Herndon to Black, Aug. 25, 1873.

[53] Black to Osgood, Jan. 3, 1874. At one time, Black evidently suspected that the publishers had been bribed to "kill" the book, since on January 9, 1873 he wrote Herndon: "O & Co. do not wish to sell the book is evident: why they do not I can scarcely conjecture. I have been advised by shrewd men of the world, and have sometimes inclined to believe, that some person or persons, individually or politically interested, paid them cash, to comply only ostensibly with their contract, and thus practically suppress the book. But they are losing more money than they like—probably more than they were paid by the conspirators—if conspirators there were—and are willing to transfer their contract to publish and let some one else take the responsibility of circulating the book. They wrote me to this effect. . . ."

[54] *Cincinnati Commercial*, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Chicago Times*, April 29, 30, and May 1, 1872.

[55] F. G. Welch, *That Convention: or Five Days a Politician* (New York, 1872); *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Horace Greeley, Liberal Republican Candidate for President of the United States, and of Hon. B. Gratz Brown, Candidate for Vice-President: With a Record of the Proceedings of the Cincinnati Convention, Address to the People, Platform of the Party, etc, etc.* (Chicago, 1872); Earle D. Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919).

himself. Fell was elected chairman of the Illinois delegation and proceeded to lead an unsuccessful fight against the Trumbull forces to secure the entire delegation for Davis. A compromise was reached giving Davis twenty-one of Illinois' forty-two votes, with ten and a half each for Trumbull and Palmer. Rumors of a Davis slush fund administered by Swett and Lamon were recorded. Lamon wrote Black on April 20, 1872:

> [I am] in this political fight for Davis and will be at Cincinnati convention. This whole thing looks like political prostitution to me—but I am in the boat with company of easy virtue and my own self-respect (what little I have left) I propose to preserve as far as may be, by the selection at Cincinnati of the least censurable, and at the same time, the most available and worthy prostitute to run the political Haroum Let me hear from you at once what you, your father, and Penna. will do in the event Davis is nominated."[56]

Thus, the weight of evidence makes it seem possible that the leaders of the Davis movement were capable of protecting his interests by "influencing" Lamon or the publishers to "purify" the book and delay publishing until after the question of Davis' candidacy had been settled.

During May and June, 1872, Black mobilized all of his resources to prevent serious revision of his manuscript and the appearance of a "spurious" edition. In these weeks the dispute centered around six major controversial questions. First, what was said and agreed upon by Black and Osgood at their conference in New York on March 20, 1872? Second, to what extent did the publishers make changes, incorporate them into the book and *then* secure Lamon's approval after the fact? Third, when did Lamon learn of these changes and

[56] Lamon to Black, April 20, 1872.

when did he see the proofs revealing their extent, that is, was he lying when he repeatedly told Black on March 31, April 20, and May 5, that he had not heard from the publishers since the March conference? Fourth, what prompted Lamon to suggest that Black sell out his interest and then rush off to Boston on May 8? Fifth, to what extent were Osgood and Company legally justified in the alterations? Sixth, were these changes primarily responsible for the unfortunate reception of the book, as Black charged? The Black Papers, of course, give his version of the facts in each of these arguments. The evidence there recorded seems to support Black's contention in each case. The defense offered at that time by Lamon and the publishers seems rather feeble, while the explanation presented by John S. Clark of Osgood and Company nearly four decades later is far from satisfactory.

From the available letters and telegrams which passed between the three parties it is possible to piece together the probable story somewhat as follows. John S. Clark from the Boston office of Osgood and Company sent a letter to Osgood at his New York office, pointing out certain objectionable material in the manuscript and asking that the authors' approval of the contemplated alterations be obtained. Black gave Lamon authority to act on the matter but Lamon refused to act alone and telegraphed for Black to meet with him and Osgood in New York in March, 1872. Black and Osgood went over the proofs, made some changes and before parting agreed to consider them the final copy of the book. At that time Osgood, following Lamon's suggestion, asked Black to answer Clark's letter, setting forth the reasons for his refusal to agree to any further modifications of the

proofs.[57] On March 22, Osgood sent Lamon the final $1,000 due on the contract, which would seem to signify final acceptance of the proofs.[58]

The volume did not appear in April as Lamon and Black had expected. Meanwhile, Lamon had twice told Black that he had heard nary a word from the publishers.[59] On April 30, Black wrote Osgood asking the reason for the delay and the next week received a surprising reply:

> Acting under your generally expressed authorization we have deemed it advisable to make considerable alterations in the political chapters of the book, which has caused the delay. These changes have now been submitted to Col. Lamon and having been returned with his approval have been incorporated in the book.[60]

The next day, May 5, Lamon again told Black: "[I have] not received a single line from O & C. since I last wrote you—what they are doing I know not."[61] After receiving this communication Black seized his pen and dashed off a stern letter to Osgood denying that he had ever given any general or express authorization for such actions and questioning Osgood's statement that Lamon had seen the proofs or given his approval.[62] The same day he sent a lengthy letter to Lamon vigorously reminding him of the exact terms of their contract, reviewing the March conference, and urging him to telegraph orders to the publishers to refrain from any such actions.[63] Lamon expressed astonishment, then hurriedly left for Boston after first suggesting to Judge Black that

[57] Black to Lamon, May 6, 1872; Black to Osgood, May 25, 1872 and Jan. 3, 1874; Black to John S. Clark, March 21, 1872.
[58] Osgood to Black, March 22, 1872; Lamon to Black, March 26, 1872.
[59] Lamon to Black, March 31 and April 20, 1872.
[60] Osgood to Black, May 4, 1872.
[61] Lamon to Black, May 5, 1872.
[62] Black to Osgood, May 6, 1872.
[63] Black to Lamon, May 6, 1872.

Chauncey sell out his interest and forward his offer to Boston.[64] Upon his arrival in Boston, Lamon examined the latest revisions of the proof, which were the handiwork of John S. Clark.[65] There is a possibility that Clark had made these modifications without first securing Osgood's consent. Chauncey telegraphed his offer to sell out to Lamon or Osgood for $25,000, following it with a letter threatening a lawsuit, and asked Lamon whether he wished to be joint-plaintiff or defendant.[66] He also sent Osgood a copy of his contract, thus exhibiting his legal rights while threatening legal action.[67]

After spending a week in Boston, Lamon gave his approval to all proposed changes, refused Black's offer to sell out for $25,000 and attempted to convince his associate that he had "a misconception of the character and extent of the alterations."[68] Lamon evidently found himself in a situation of bewildering perplexity. He was sick and tired of the continual changes and the bickerings between Black and the publishers and probably did not comprehend the basis of Black's stubborn defense of his literary and historical brain-child. As a lawyer, Lamon knew that the Blacks would have difficulty in securing any legal redress since both the contract with Osgood and the copyright were in Lamon's name alone. There is also the possibility that even though David Davis had not been nominated at Cincinnati, certain promises had been given to his supporters which would have to be observed. Then again, the final changes in the "political portions" may be considered as mere expressions of

[64] Lamon to J. S. Black, May 8, 1872.
[65] Osgood to Black, May 9, 1872; statement of J. S. Clark, Abraham Lincoln Association transcript.
[66] Black to Lamon, May 11 and 13, 1872.
[67] Black to Osgood, May 13, 1872.
[68] Lamon to Black, May 13 and 15, 1872.

loyalty to the Republican Party and Lincoln tradition perpetuated by Osgood and Clark.

When Black decided on May 15 that Lamon had gone over to the enemy he curtly informed him: "You will hear from me next through my counsel."[69] Judge Black sent a telegram to Lamon warning him: "Believe me, you are acting unwisely, unjustly, and illegally. Do not shipwreck the craft. The suit will be immediately commenced. Do you wish this?"[70] Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, whose reputation in Massachusetts courts was legendary, acted as counsel for Black. Butler co-operated with the Blacks in the preparation of a legal brief but never instituted proceedings. Time was too short to prevent publication, the expense would have been considerable and there was always the chance that the interpolations and mangling of the book might not be sufficiently serious to interfere with the sale of the biography. If so, it would not be wise to invite adverse comment by revealing the Democratic ancestry of the work.[71]

Black contented himself with two blistering letters to the publishers which included devastating observations on Clark's literary and historical ability, again reviewed the course of the controversy since March, but surprisingly contained a note of reconciliation. He concluded his case with the sarcastic observation that he was glad to learn from their letter of May 23 their intention to publish Lamon's *Life of Lincoln* under their contract with Ward H. Lamon. Surely if that were so they would publish Black's original manuscript, since that was Lamon's *Life of Lincoln*.[72]

[69] Black to Lamon, May 15, 1872.
[70] J. S. Black to Lamon, May 16, 1872.
[71] Black to Osgood, May 21, 1872.
[72] Black to Osgood, May 25, 1872; Osgood to Black, May 23, 1872.

Lamon's proposed volume received advance press notices as early as February and March, 1872, when Osgood sent the leading metropolitan dailies excerpts from Black's draft announcement for the trade.[73] Copies were sent to Boston and New York book-review editors during the last week of May, 1872. June saw the work reviewed extensively in the eastern press and a few articles appeared in Chicago and St. Louis papers. A rather complete examination of the journals of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chicago makes it clear that the reviewers were not in general agreement as to the merits of the book. Fifteen reviews were written in a distinctly favorable tone,[74] although only eleven were unrestrained in their praise. Six distinctly unfavorable reviews[75] also appeared in June, yet even these tempered their vitriolic castigations with remarks which should have intrigued the reading public. The comments of the early reviewers suggest that many of them read only the opening chapters as a basis for their opinions. They spoke highly of the excellent picture of Lincoln's early life in frontier Indiana and Illinois. However, within the month, the *New York Evening Post*,[76] the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*,[77] and the *Boston Daily Advertiser*[78] changed their editorial minds and vigorously condemned Lamon's efforts. More ex-

[73] See *ante*, note 27.

[74] *New York Evening Post*, May 31 and June 1, 1872; *New York Tribune*, June 1, 1872; *Boston Daily Globe*, June 4, 1872; *Chicago Tribune*, June 4, 1872; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 5, 1872; *New York World*, June 7 and 17, 1872; *Boston Commonwealth*, June 15, 1872; *Washington Daily Patriot*, June 12, 1872; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 8, 1872; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1872; *Baltimore Gazette*, June 14, 1872; and *Boston Transcript*, June 1 and 5, 1872.

[75] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 10, 1872; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 17, 1872; *Chicago Tribune*, June 4, 1872; *New York Evening Post*, June 8, 1872; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 26, 1872; and *New York Evening Mail*, June 24, 1872.

[76] June 8, 1872.

[77] June 10, 1872.

[78] June 26, 1872.

tensive reading had possibly revealed the stylistic irregularities and the contradictory political portions.

Three other laudatory reviews were somewhat tainted in that they were written by W. B. Reed, an old friend of the Blacks, who corresponded with Chauncey Black before putting his thoughts into print.[79] These reviews appeared in the *Baltimore Gazette*,[80] the *Washington Patriot*,[81] and the *New York World*,[82] and stressed the real literary merits of the book as well as the impartial search for truth in Lincoln's life. Reed felt that this parade of truth should serve to enhance Lincoln's place in American tradition, especially when the reading public came to appreciate the cultural poverty of his family background and early years in Illinois. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*[83] and the *Boston Transcript*[84] contain the only extremely enthusiastic reviews which were not either called back by later comments of editors or inspired by the Blacks.

The *Chicago Tribune*[85] and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*[86] each carried contradictory comments but each expressed horror at the uncouth parade of "truths" about Lincoln's family, love life, religious sentiments and weakness for good dirty stories. The *New York Evening Mail*[87] and the *New York Commercial Advertiser*[88] offered blistering observations on the tragic failure which had been "achieved" by Lamon, who seemed so eminently provided with all the materials for a biography except liter-

[79] W. B. Reed to Black, June 5 and 15, 1872; Reed to Judge Black, July 3, 1872.
[80] June 14, 1872.
[81] June 12, 1872.
[82] June 17, 1872.
[83] June 8, 1872.
[84] June 5, 1872.
[85] June 4, 1872.
[86] June 10, 1872.
[87] June 24, 1872.
[88] June 17, 1872.

ary ability and character. On June 26, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* contained the first careful analysis of the style and contents of the book. The reviewer proved to his own satisfaction that Lamon was not the real author and tentatively hinted that someone close to Judge Jeremiah Black was involved. This lead was carried still further by the *New York Sun* on July 26, when a lengthy editorial was headlined as follows: "The Strange Story of a Strange Book: Who Wrote Lamon's Life of Lincoln? And Who mutilated it before publication?" Chapters, paragraphs, and even lines were cited. So accurate was the analysis and so shrewd were the deductions that it is obvious that the reviewer was working with inside information. This article may have been inspired by the desire of the Blacks to discredit Osgood, or by Osgood's wishing to discredit the book, although the latter interpretation seems improbable despite Chauncey Black's charge that the publishers purposely stifled sales of the book.[89]

The better periodicals generally voiced disapproval. The *Nation*[90] heartily condemned Lamon's conception of the duties and privileges of a biographer. The *Saturday Review*,[91] a London publication, sensed the confused interpretation and wondered what purpose the volume would serve. It was too large for a party treatise, no real contribution to political history, and could not possibly be a profitable business venture because of its tedious length and detail. Black later charged that the periodicals published by Osgood and Company contained deprecatory articles concerning it.[92] While this is true of

[89] Black to Herndon, Jan. 9, 1872.
[90] June 20, 1872.
[91] Sept. 21, 1872.
[92] Black to Herndon, Jan. 9, 1873; Black to Osgood, Dec. 17, 1873.

the sarcastic and spiteful lines which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*,[93] yet the *North American Review*[94] spoke kindly words, although its enthusiasm was rather mild.

Review comment died down within six months after the appearance of the work, except on the one topic of Lincoln's religion. In June, 1872, the *Presbyterian* began a dispute, which has lived to the present, with an expression of mild regret that the subject had been handled so crudely. The *Congregationalist* echoed this thought in July, 1872, with a vigorous defense of Lincoln's essential Christianity. In July, 1872, a number of *Scribner's Weekly* contained an article in defense of Lincoln's character.[95] Early in 1873, J. S. Holland published a "savage criticism of the book."[96] Herndon and Chauncey Black cooperated in a crusade to prove that all of these religious writers and lecturers were indulging in wishful thinking about Lincoln's religion. Herndon gave lectures in Illinois,[97] and published "cards" in the *Chicago Tribune*,[98] all the while carrying on a vigorous correspondence with Black, who was busy defending his exposition of Lincoln's irreligion with signed and unsigned articles and reviews in the eastern papers, especially the *New York World*.[99]

Any summary of press opinion must be inconclusive. True, the book was harshly and possibly justly criticized. However, nearly all reviewers strongly urged reading and re-reading of the volume. The financial failure of the venture cannot be explained in terms of insuffi-

[93] Sept., 1872.
[94] Jan., 1873.
[95] Cited in *Boston Evening Journal*, July 20, 1872.
[96] Herndon to Black, Jan. 24, and Feb. 24, 1873.
[97] Herndon to Black, Dec. 15, 1873.
[98] Herndon to Black, Nov. 22, 1873; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1873.
[99] *New York World*, July 26, 1873; Osgood to Black, Aug. 14, 1873; Herndon to Black, July 27, and Aug. 21, 1873.

cient or unfriendly comment by the press in general. In all probability the answer can be found in the fact that the reading public was not prepared to read such "unvarnished truth" about its national hero just seven years after his death.

After the first flurry of excitement attending the appearance of the biography, Chauncey Black settled back to await the first statement of sales, which was due in November, 1872. He fortified his legal rights in the project by forcing Lamon to assign him a half-interest in the copyright and to register that fact with Osgood and the Librarian of Congress.[100] On November 10, Black forwarded copies of this assignment of Lamon to the publishers and asked for an account of sales to date,[101] only to receive a curt note with the astonishing news that only about 1,900 copies had been sold.[102] Following three more months of silence on the part of both Lamon and Osgood, Black attempted to communicate with the publishers through Lamon. He asked his former associate for news of the proposed French and German translations and also of the intended subscription edition which had been promised by Osgood.[103] Two months later, having been treated to more silence by Lamon, Black sent similar inquiries to the publishers,[104] whose answer was completely discouraging on all points.[105]

Black waited nearly two months more, then began an extended correspondence with the publishers in which he tried to find some formula for the resurrection of the

[100] Lamon to Osgood, July 13, 1872; copy of assignment dated July 13, 1872.
[101] Black to Osgood, Nov. 10, 1872.
[102] Edwin Mead of J. R. Osgood and Co. to Black, Nov. 17, 1872.
[103] Black to Lamon, Feb. 12, 1873.
[104] Black to Osgood, April 7, 1873.
[105] Osgood to Black, April 12, 1873.

book. Osgood and Company offered to sell out their interest for $2,695.02, the price of the plates and illustrations, even though their net loss to that date was about $8,000.[106] Black kept negotiations open with a reply which simulated astonishment at the price of the plates and suggested that an offer be secured from Lamon for the release of his contractual rights with them.[107] Osgood and Company insisted that Black make a definite offer which they would forward to Lamon,[108] but later changed their policy and tried to get in touch with Lamon themselves.[109] In September, 1873, Lamon asked for an account of sales "upon which to base a proposition for the sale of his interest."[110] However, on the basis of the available evidence, it seems that Lamon never again corresponded with the publishers on this or any other subject.

Lamon's continued refusal to answer letters from Black or Osgood forced Black to try a new tack with the publishers before turning his attention to a different proposition which he was working out with Herndon. In November and December, 1873, he made a last effort to persuade Osgood and Company to put on the market a revised version of the book. This revision was to be nothing but a return to Black's original manuscript, including the notorious twenty-first chapter, and was to be sold on a subscription basis.[111] Upon refusal of these proposals, Black responded with yet another conciliatory suggestion: he offered to omit the twenty-first chapter from such an arrangement. This last offering

[106] Osgood to Black, June 25 and 30, 1873.
[107] Black to Osgood, July 8, 1873.
[108] Osgood to Black, July 12, 1873.
[109] Black to Osgood, Sept. 3, 1873; Osgood to Black, Sept. 6, 1873.
[110] Osgood to Black, Sept. 27, 1873.
[111] Black to Osgood, Nov. 22, 25 and Dec. 17, 1873; Osgood to Black, Nov. 28.

was accompained by a long review of the controversy in which Black, as usual, paraded all of the publishers' sins of omission and commission,[112] and it is not surprising that all negotiations were closed with the following communication:

Boston, Jany 8 1874

C. F. Black Esq.
Dear Sir:

We have yours of Jan. 3d.

While we are satisfied that we acted in entire good faith in the Lincoln matter and for the best interests of all concerned, we can still appreciate your position in the premises. We regret that you feel compromised in the matter and we are disposed to meet your views regarding the future use of the property so far as we can. We are not willing to undertake the republication of the book in a revised form but are willing to sacrifice *our* interest in the property and to make it over to you on very favorable terms, provided this can be done in such a way as to release us from any obligations under our contract with Mr. Lamon.

Very truly yours
James R. Osgood & Co.

Meanwhile Black had been corresponding with Herndon, who heartily approved of Black's handling of Herndon's collection of Lincoln material. He voiced sweeping praise in such sentiments as: "The Life is true—true to the letter and spirit of your Hero—Lincoln—When you give an opinion—express a judgement it is sound. There never was as true a biography written in this world. The Life is an honest one telling 'flat-footed' all the facts of Lincoln's history."[113] However, Black was not primarily interested in securing literary bouquets or in reading Herndon's continuous harangues on Lincoln's religious views. Rather he wanted to acquire some man with a Lincoln reputation as his agent or associate who

[112] Osgood to Black, Dec. 24, 1873 and Jan. 3, 1874.
[113] Herndon to Black, Jan. 4, 1873.

could sell the idea of bringing out a revised version of Lamon's *Lincoln* to a responsible publishing house in Chicago.[114] Herndon at first did not bite for Black's bait but by August, 1873, suggested that they together should write an entirely new book.[115] This project would obviate the necessity and expense of securing the old plates. Also Lamon's refusal to give up his contractual rights with Osgood would not be an obstacle. Suddenly Herndon vaguely remembered a clause in his contract with Lamon which might disturb any plans for a new biography. He "thought" that when he sold the use of his Lincoln records to Lamon, he himself had promised not to write any book on Lincoln for five years, or to allow his records to be used for such a purpose during the period. However, he was sure the five years would be completed early in 1874.[116] Hence Black and Herndon thrashed out the details of their joint project. Black composed a tentative outline of the new volume and Herndon secured the addresses of reputable publishers in Chicago. At this point Herndon's memory played him another trick. He dimly recalled that he had promised Lamon that he would *never* write any life of Lincoln.[117] Just to be sure, he wrote Lamon asking for a copy of their contract. Months passed and no answer. Herndon tried to enlist Judge David Davis as a scout to locate Lamon's whereabouts,[118] but Lamon failed to answer any inquiries from Herndon despite saucy letters which were aimed to "get him mad—'cuss' or write."[119]

Since Herndon refused to take any definite steps with

[114] Black to Herndon, Jan. 9, 1873.
[115] Herndon to Black, Aug. 25, 1873.
[116] Herndon to Black, Nov. 19 and 30, 1873.
[117] Herndon to Black, May 29, 1874.
[118] Herndon to Black, Jan. 21, 1874.
[119] Herndon to Black, May 29, 1874.

publishers until he knew the exact term of his legal obligations to Lamon—never having bothered to secure a copy of the contract—the entire project was brought to a standstill. Again, Lamon was the evil genius who blocked Black's path to literary and historical renown as well as possible financial success.

Nothing ever came of the great plans of Herndon and Black for a joint life of Lincoln.[120] Their correspondence practically ceased early in 1875, each going his own way. Herndon nursed his health, his Lincoln memoirs and his slender financial resources for more than another decade before bringing out his *Lincoln* with the collaboration of Jesse Weik.[121] Black turned his attention to Pennsylvania politics. His vigorous pen contributed many stirring articles to the columns of the *New York Sun* and the *New York World*. He served as one of Samuel J. Randall's most valuable and trusted lieutenants in the struggle for control of the Democratic Party of the Keystone State. Black was rewarded with the post of Lieutenant-

[120] In the Lamon collection of 2,400 items in the Henry E. Huntington Library, is a typed manuscript containing a disconnected series of recollections, anecdotes, etc., with autographed corrections by Lamon. This was used by Dorothy Lamon Teillard as the basis for her volume of her father's *Recollections of Lincoln*, a notation to that effect appearing in the preface to the first edition which was published in 1895. Since much of this manuscript refers to events which transpired during the years 1860-1865, it was formerly catalogued as a "History of Lincoln's Administration." This led reputable scholars to refer to it incorrectly as the "manuscript of Volume II of Lamon's Life of Lincoln." The fact that it was typed dates it after 1880, long after Black and Lamon had parted company. No one can examine the Black Papers and seriously entertain the thought that Black could have wasted two more years in the composition of a second volume after his disappointing experience with Volume I. No trace of any such composition appears in these papers, even as late as 1880. If Black's observations as to the literary and historical abilities of Lamon are even partially correct, Lamon himself was incapable of composing any integrated manuscript which could correctly be labelled as "Volume II of Lamon's Life of Lincoln." Herndon could not have written Volume II, both because of his incapacity for sustained literary effort and the fact that he possessed no knowledge of Lincoln's activities after 1861. A responsible member of the manuscripts division of the Huntington Library agrees with this writer that "Volume II is, and always was, non-existent." Norma Cuthbert to writer, May 24, 1938.

[121] William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln; the True Story of a Great Life* (Chicago, 1889).

Governor in the elections of 1882, when the Democrats swept the state for the last time until the days of the New Deal.

Inability to overcome the obstacles of Lamon's actual or potential legal rights may explain why Black turned to politics and journalism. However, if he did still cherish any such thoughts in 1875, they may well have been dashed by the news that Nicolay and Hay were at work on an imposing, definitive, documentary history of Lincoln's life, which would appear serially in a reputable periodical and run to many volumes when completed.[122] A work from the hands of Lincoln's ex-secretaries would undoubtedly appeal to the taste of a reading public which had already demonstrated a desire to build its memory of Lincoln into a glorious blend of political and ethical mythology. Black could only hope that the day would come when his picture of the realities of Lincoln's career would be accepted by students of American history.

[122] Herndon to Black, May 29, 1874 and May 25, 1875.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS FOLK SONGS

BY DAVID S. McINTOSH

THERE have been several very fine histories of southern Illinois written by excellent historians, but for one who is searching for information concerning the early musical life of the people of southern Illinois there is little that can be found in the books that are now available. Among the older people of southern Illinois there existed and still exists a culture in music that is rarely suspected either by the casual observer or by the research worker in history. In looking for traces of this culture I examined every available history of southern Illinois and gleaned a few interesting facts. Mr. W. H. Perrin, after reciting some of the calamities of the year 1840, states:

> This year, too, came the singing-master—the king of the tuning-fork, who could read the "square notes," and who was born with a hawk-nose, chewing plug tobacco, and had been forever trying to marry the belle sunflower of every school he had taught or attended. This particular one is described as a "cadaverous, bacon-colored old curmudgeon named Winchester." He left the town in great disgust, so complete was his attempted school a failure, and it is supposed Cairo survived this calamity with greater equanimity than any of her other inflictions; we have no hesitation in calling his departure a calamity, because from the above description it will be seen he had many of the earmarks of a great and good singing-school master, and yet he could not sing his "square notes" in Cairo. His experience here may have given rise to the little legend, "I'm saddest when I sing."[1]

[1] *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, Illinois*, edited by William Henry Perrin (Chicago, 1883), 45.

Mr. Patterson, in commenting on the religious services of the early days, states:

> The character of the music and hymns was often ludicrous. Most of the tunes were in the minor key, and many of the hymns were extremely repetitious, and had a singular refrain at the close of each verse, and sometimes after each line. Thus the words, "Glory, Hallelujah," or some like interjection, would occur twenty or thirty times in one singing. The music of those days, with only a few exceptions, now only lingers in the memories of a few elderly persons. Teachers of music came in and changed the tastes of the people. But for many years, only what were called square or patent notes were used in the tune-books. In camp-meetings and other devotional gatherings, it was customary for all the Christian people to pray audibly together, in the loudest tones possible. Sometimes the noise of a whole congregation thus screaming at the tops of their voices was heard at the distance of three or four miles.[2]

Ben. Boone makes two references to music. "William Gaston was the best singer I ever heard." And in speaking of Allen Henson, he says: "He would have crazy spells, which would last for a week or two and at such times he would go among his friends and sing funny songs."[3]

One sentence from Mr. Patterson's paper is particularly interesting in the light of present-day conditions. That is the sentence found in the above quotation, "Teachers of music came in and changed the tastes of the people." That is what so often happens when a new type of culture supplants the culture current at any particular time: the new casts off the old completely. How much better it would have been had the singing teachers recognized the beauty and the loveliness of these songs that were sung by the people of southern Illinois. One

[2] Robert W. Patterson, "Early Society in Southern Illinois," *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 14 (Chicago, 1880), 127.

[3] Ben. Boone, *Historical Sketches of Jackson County, Illinois* (Carbondale, Ill., 1894), 33, 35-36.

of the saddest facts in history is this story of the destruction of the old culture for the new. It seems to be necessary for the old to be completely forgotten for a time and to wait on the effort of some research worker to bring to light the culture of an almost forgotten past. In this paper I am presenting a few of the folk songs that I have collected in southern Illinois in the last five years. In my use of the term "folk songs" I refer to those songs that have been dependent upon oral tradition for their existence.

My memory goes back to my boyhood and a visit to my grandparents, who lived in Mt. Erie, Illinois. One particular evening has stuck in my mind; my mother sat at the old reed organ and chorded while the group sang many old songs. My uncle sang "Oh See That Watermelon Smiling on de Vine," and my father and mother sang "Dutch Courtship." I judge that this type of entertainment was rather common in the early days of the twentieth century in homes that contained an organ or piano.

It was my pleasure to visit a few years ago in the home of William Jones, who lives south of Carbondale. He sang "Froggie Went A-Courtin'," "God Knows I' Been All Around This World," "Come All You Texas Rangers," and a number of other songs that I recorded. After working for about two hours and a half, we were surprised to see Mrs. Jones bringing in a dish full of old-fashioned popcorn balls. I asked Mr. Jones how many songs he knew, and he said he believed he could sing all night and never sing the same song twice. Mrs. Jones said that the young folks used to get together during the winter months and spend entire evenings singing songs and playing games. In all my contacts with folk song

singers in southern Illinois in the last six years, during which time I have heard more than two hundred songs, I have yet to hear any accompaniment of any sort except a tapping of the foot or a swaying of the body.

In just two instances did I find songs that required group participation. One was the "Froggie Went A-Courtin' and He Did Ride. Um, huh!" The other was the song, "The Twelve Apostles" in which there is a definite demand for group participation.

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF KNIGHT

"Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight," an old English ballad, was sung by Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson of Marion, Illinois. She was past eighty years of age at the time and was a very interesting and intelligent old lady. She had a wonderful memory and was able to sing eighteen songs for me, which I recorded. She was very patient, and was willing to repeat so that I could write the tunes accurately. She was unusual in that she rarely made any variation in the songs. She had a deep contralto voice and pitched the songs very low.

I asked her to explain the meaning of the last stanza, since it seemed to have no definite connection with the last of the song, but she was unable to do this. I suggested that the young lady might be addressing her parrot and was making promises of reward to the bird in return for its secrecy. Mrs. Hendrickson said that the song about the parrot was another song and did not go with this song.[4] Unfortunately she was unable to recall this song.

[4] The suggestion of a parrot in this song is found in the following sources: *English Folk Songs From the Southern Appalachians*, collected by Olive D. Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp (New York, 1917), 3-6; Frances Barbour, *Six Ballads of the Missouri Ozarks* (Radcliffe College, 1929), no. 4.

Early one Saturday morning I drove to Marion after Mrs. Hendrickson and brought her to my home in Carbondale. We spent the entire day setting down songs. Late in the afternoon she told me that she could not recall any more. So we began looking through Campbell and Sharp's book, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, and we came upon this song. As soon as I had read a few lines she said, "I know that song." Then she began to sing. After singing the entire song without hesitation, she said: "I haven't sung that song in twenty years." I asked her where she learned it, and she said, "Poppy and Mommy used to sing it to us kids."

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF KNIGHT
(Sung by Mrs. Hendrickson)

I follered her up, and I follered her down
To the chamber where she lay.
She neither had the heart for to flee from me,
Nor the tongue for to tell me nay, nay,
Nor the tongue for to tell me nay.

"Git up, git up, my pretty 'golin',
Come go along with me.
Come go with me to old England,
And there I will marry thee,
And there I will marry thee."

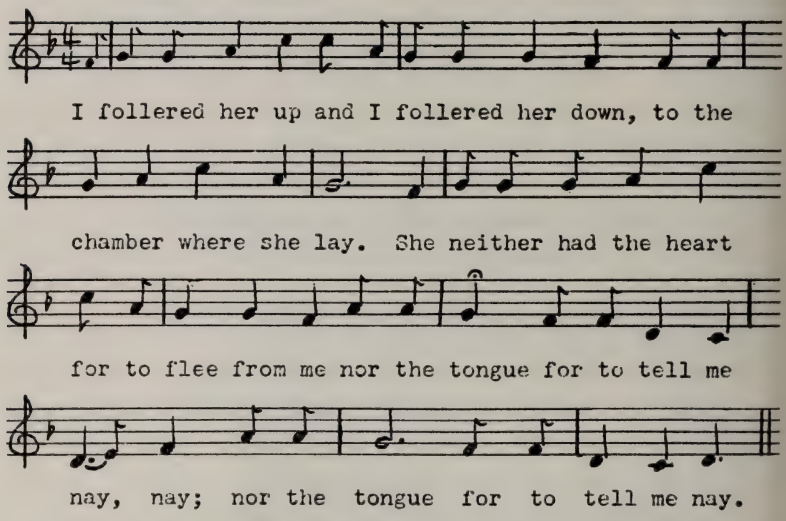
"Go take the best part of your father's gold,
Likewise of your mother's fee.
Take two of the best steeds out of your father's stable,
Where-in there is thirty and three,
Where-in there is thirty and three."

He mounted her on the bonny brown,
He led the dappled gray.

And away they rode to the old seashore,
Just in the length of a long summer day,
Just in the length of a long summer day.

"Git down, git down, my pretty 'golin';
Git down, git down, by the sea.
For here I've drowned six kings' daughters,
And you the seventh shall be,
And you the seventh shall be."

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF KNIGHT



"Turn yourself all around and around,
With your face to the greenest tree.
For I never thought it right,
A naked woman a man for to see,
A naked woman a man for to see."

He turned himself all around and around,
With his face to the greenest tree.
She caught him around the middle so small,
And tripped him into the sea,
And tripped him into the sea.

"Lie there, lie there, you false William;
Lie there instead of me.
For you have stripped me as naked as ever I was born,
Not a thread have I taken from you,
Not a thread have I taken from you."

She mounted herself on the bonny brown;
She led the dappled gray.
And away she rode to her father's hall,
Just three hours before it was day,
Just three hours before it was day.

"Hush up, hush up, my pretty 'golin';
Don't tell no tales on me.
I will build you a house with the beating wings of gold,
And your door shall be silvery,
And your door shall be silvery."

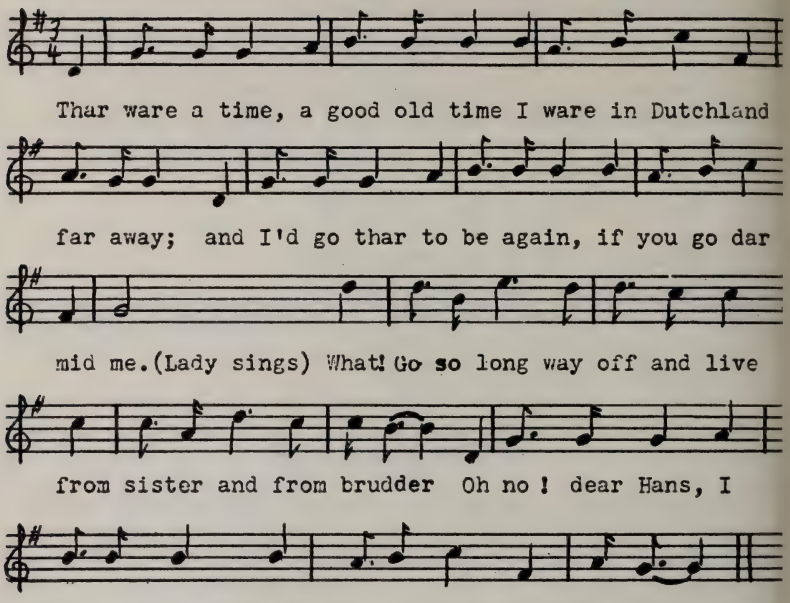
DUTCH COURTSHIP

My father and mother would sing this song after much coaxing, and we children never tired of hearing it. I mentioned in the preface the first time that I can recall hearing them sing it. Mother would sit at the piano and chord, and father would stand beside her. The first verse would be sung by father, the second by mother. This would continue to the last verse which was sung by both.

My mother's people came into southern Illinois from Pennsylvania shortly before the Civil War, and settled at Mt. Erie in Wayne County. They were known as Pennsylvania Dutch, and I suppose this song came into southern Illinois with them. I have never heard it sung except as my folks sang it. It was sung to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland."

This is the only song in my collection that had an accompaniment.

DUTCH COURTSHIP



DUTCH COURTSHIP
(Sung By W. D. McIntosh)

Thar ware a time, a good old time,
I ware in Dutchland, far away.
And I'd go thar to be again,
If you go dar mid me.

What? Go so long way off and live
From sister and from brudder?
Oh, no, dear Hans, I cannot leave
Mine fadder and mine mudder.

Then, Hailey, dear, why smile so sweet?
You break my bleeding heart in two.
You know I'd leave de peoples all,
To go along mid you.

Oh, Hans, mine udder fear would be,
Mid hearts so full of pain,
That all the young men in the town
Could never smile again.

Then, Hailey, dear, good-by, good-by,
I've noting more just now to speak.
My heart is broke, good-by, my love.
I'd drown me in the creek.

Oh, Hans, oh, Hans, come back, I pray
And I will leave mine mudder.
I'd leave mid you this country quick
And fly into anudder.

Then married we will buy a farm
And cabbage we will cultivate,
And sauerkraut in a barrel big,
With plenty of smearcase, we will make.

Oh, limbergar, dar limbergar,
How many a ting them cheese mid tell.
To people who the house go by
Mid noses turned up at the smell.

BROTHER GREEN or THE DYING SOLDIER

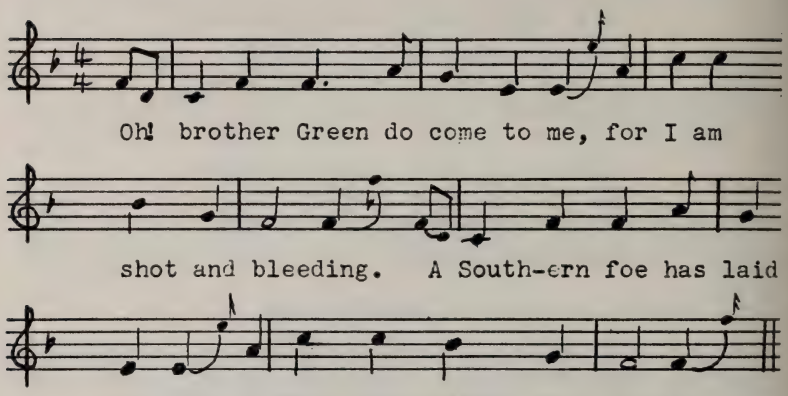
I heard this sung first by Mr. R. H. Finley; he called it "The Dying Soldier." Mr. Finley lives southeast of Carbondale. When I asked him to sing this song, he said, "Here's the way it goes—the way my dad sang it."

It was almost a year later that I found the other version. Mrs. Wilmore of West Frankfort gave me the words, and said that Mrs. Hendrickson of Marion knew the tune.

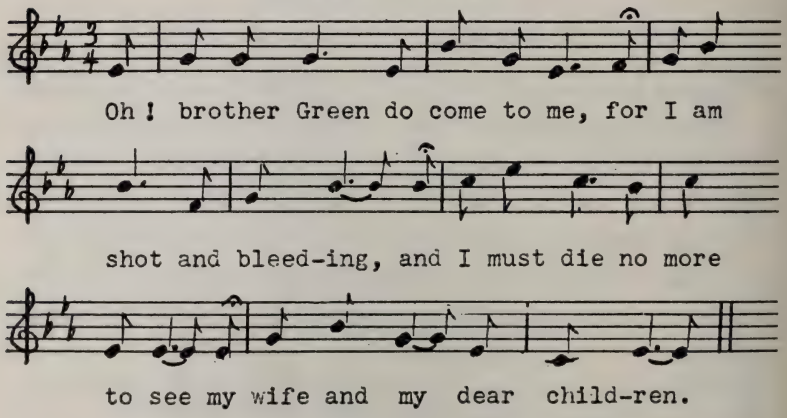
In *Our American Music* by Howard, there is found the following reference to this song:

While most of the songs were obviously brought by the first settlers from England, some of them make references to more modern

BROTHER GREEN



THE DYING SOLDIER



events. *Brother Green* speaks of the "Southern foe," who "laid him low." The story evidently refers to the Civil War, although in its present form the song may be a variant of an older version.[5]

Mrs. Wilmore gave me the following information concerning the song: "This song was composed by Reverend L. J. Simpson, late chaplain in the army. It was composed on the death of a brother who was killed at Fort Donelson, February, 1862."

The statement made by Mr. Howard that this song might be related to an older song is given credence by the fact that Mr. Finley uses this same tune when he sings the old English ballad, "Barbara Allen."

BROTHER GREEN
(Sung by Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson)

Oh, Brother Green, do come to me,
For I am shot and bleeding,
And I must die, no more to see
My wife and dear children.

A southern foe has laid me low,
On this cold ground to suffer.
Dear brother, stay—lay me away,
And write my wife a letter.

Tell her I am prepared to die;
I hope to meet her in Heaven.
When I believed in Jesus Christ,
My sins were all forgiven.

I know that she has prayed for me—
And now her prayers are answered—
That I should be prepared to die,
If I should fail in battle.

[5] John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York, 1931), 430.

My little babes—I love them well—
Oh! Could I once more see them,
To bid them both a long farewell
Till we should meet in Heaven.

Dear Sister Nancy, do not grieve
The loss of your poor brother,
For I am going with Christ to live
And see my blessed mother.

Dear Sister Mary is gone there too—
She lives and reigns with angels—
And Jefferson, who died when young,
I know I'll see their faces.

Poor Brother William, strive to meet
Us in that upper region.
Though many troubles you will see,
Still keep that pure religion.

Two brothers yet I don't forget,
They are fighting for our Union,
For which, dear wife, I gave my life
To put down this rebellion.

Now I am dying, Brother Green,
Oh, I do die so easy.
I know that death has lost its sting,
Because I love my Jesus.

Go tell my wife she need not grieve;
Go kiss my little children.
They will call their papa now in vain,
For he has gone to Heaven.

But I am here in Tennessee,
And they are in Illinois.
And I must now soon buried be,
No more to hear their voices.

Dear Mary, you must treat them well
And train them up for Heaven.

Teach them to love and fear the Lord,
And they will be respected.

And when your work on earth is done,
And all life's toils are over;
We'll meet again in that bright world,
Where all is peace and pleasure.

Dear Father, you have suffered long,
And prayed for my salvation,
But I shall beat you home at last,
And say, "Farewell temptation."

Your eyes are dim, and ears are deaf,
But, oh, the wondrous story.
When we shall meet in that bright world,
Then we'll sing "Glory, Glory."

THE DYING SOLDIER
(Sung by R. H. Finley)

Oh, Brother Green do come to me
For I am shot and bleeding,
And I must die, no more to see
My wife and my dear children.

A southern foe has laid me low
On this cold ground to suffer.
Dear brother, stay; lay me away,
And write my wife a letter.

Tell her I am prepared to die
And hope we'll meet in Heaven:
For when I believed in Jesus Christ,
My sins were all forgiven.

My little babes, I loved them well.
Oh, could I once more see them
And bid them both a long farewell,
Till we shall meet in Heaven.

But here I am in Tennessee,
And they are in Illinois.
And I must soon to be buried be,
No more to hear their voices.

Dear Mary, you must treat them well
And train them up for Heaven.
Teach them to love and fear the Lord,
And they will be respected.

Two brothers yet I can't forget,
That's fighting for this Union,
For which dear wife, I gave my life
To lay down this rebellion.

Oh, I am dying, Brother Green,
Oh, do I die so easy,
And oh, that death has lost its sting,
Because I love my Jesus.

WALTER JUMPED A FOX

I am indebted to Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson for this old English hunting song. The tune is interesting in its avoidance of the second and sixth scale steps, as well as the flat seventh. This tune, like several others in my collection, is definitely modal in character.

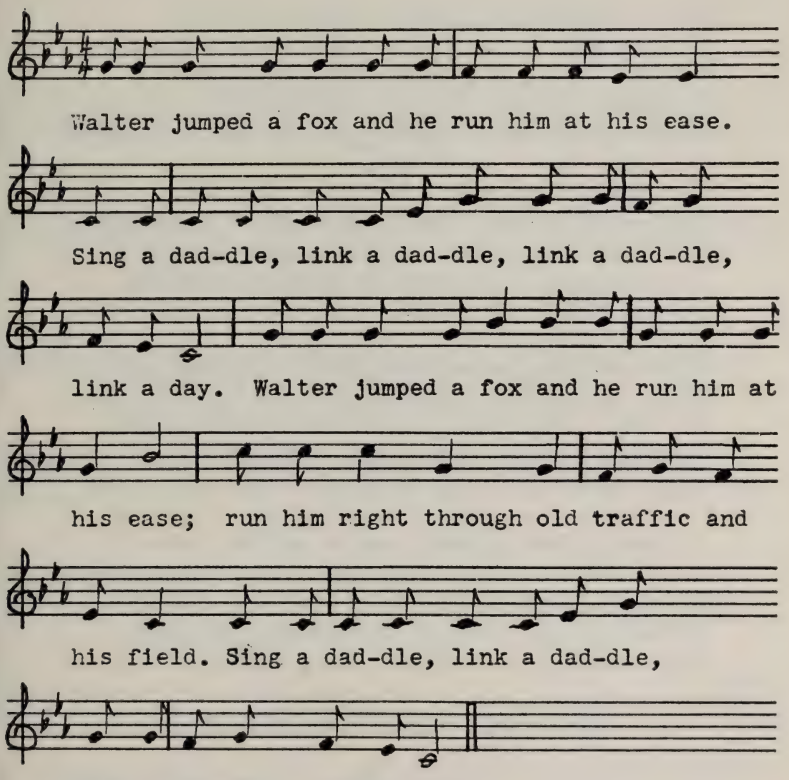
Songs with nonsense syllables are not only found in English and American songs, but in songs of other countries as well. Victor Belaiev, in writing of the "Folk-Music of Georgia," states: "In the texts of the Georgian songs, we find, first of all, many refrains and words with no definite meaning, such as, *delivodeli-vodeli*, *ranina da ranina; odelia ei-o*, *ei-o; delis vodelis ei-o;* and so forth."[6]

Neither is the production of songs of this type confined to any certain period of time. Anyone with a radio

[6] Victor Belaiev, "The Folk-Music of Georgia," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (Oct., 1933), 422.

available cannot help hearing occasional outbursts of the "boop-boop-a-doop" variety of song today.

WALTER JUMPED A FOX



WALTER JUMPED A FOX
(Sung by Lottie Hendrickson)

Walter jumped a fox, and he run him at his ease,
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
Walter jumped a fox and he run him at his ease,
Run him right through old traffic and his field,
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

He hadn't run him far when he popped him up a tree.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
He hadn't run him far when he popped him up a tree.
Right by old traffic and his field.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

The fox jumped out, and he took to his heels,
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
The fox jumped out, and he took to his heels—
Run right through old traffic and his field.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

The hounds being poor and the fox being fine,
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
The hounds being poor and the fox being fine,
And that's the reason they left them so far behind.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

The bread being scarce, and the meat they had none,
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
The bread being scarce, and the meat they had none,
That was the reason the hounds couldn't run.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

My song's about to finish, and it cuts like a saw.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.
My song's about to finish, and it cuts like a saw,
If Walter's don't do it, let him push by the law.
Sing a daddle, link a daddle, link a daddle, link a day.

OH! ONCE I SAW A BLIND MAN

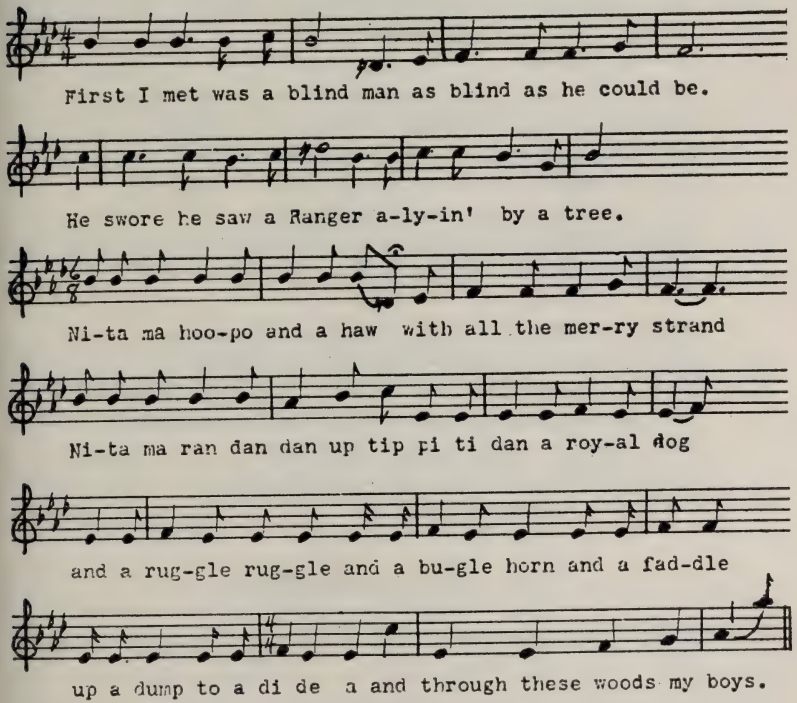
This is another song by Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson. I asked her to explain the meaning of the word "ranger." She said that she thought it was a ground hog.

I asked Mr. Troy Felts of Carbondale, who sang his version of this song for me, the same question, and his answer was that he supposed a ranger was an officer of the law.

In *Songs of the West*, by S. Baring-Gould, there is a

version of this song under the title "Three Jovial Welshmen;" and in this version the word is reynard, meaning a fox, instead of ranger.

OH! ONCE I SAW A BLIND MAN



This illustrates one of the interesting facts about folk songs, in that words are often changed so that their original meaning is obscured. Some people have said that this accounts for the use of nonsense syllables in songs.

OH! ONCE I SAW A BLIND MAN
(Sung by Lottie Hendrickson)

First I met was a blind man, as blind as he could be;
He swore he saw a Ranger a lyin' by a tree.
Nita ma hoopo and a haw—with all the merry strand.
Nita ma ran dan dan, up tip pi ti dan, a royal dog.
And a ruggle ruggle, and bugle horn
And a faddle up a dump, to a di de a, and
Through those woods my boys.

Next I met was a deaf man, as deaf as he could be;
He swore he heard a Ranger lyin' by a stream.
Nita ma hoopo and a haw—with all the merry strand.
Nita ma ran dan dan, up tip pi ti dan, a royal dog
And a ruggle ruggle, and a bugle horn
And a faddle up a dump, to a di de a, and
Through those woods my boys.

Next I met was a teamster a drivin' his team;
Swore he saw a Ranger a lyin' by a stream.
Nita ma hoopo and a haw—with all the merry strand.
Nita ma ran dan dan, up tip pi ti dan, a royal dog
And a ruggle, ruggle, and a bugle horn
And a faddle up a dump, to a di de a, and
Through those woods my boys.

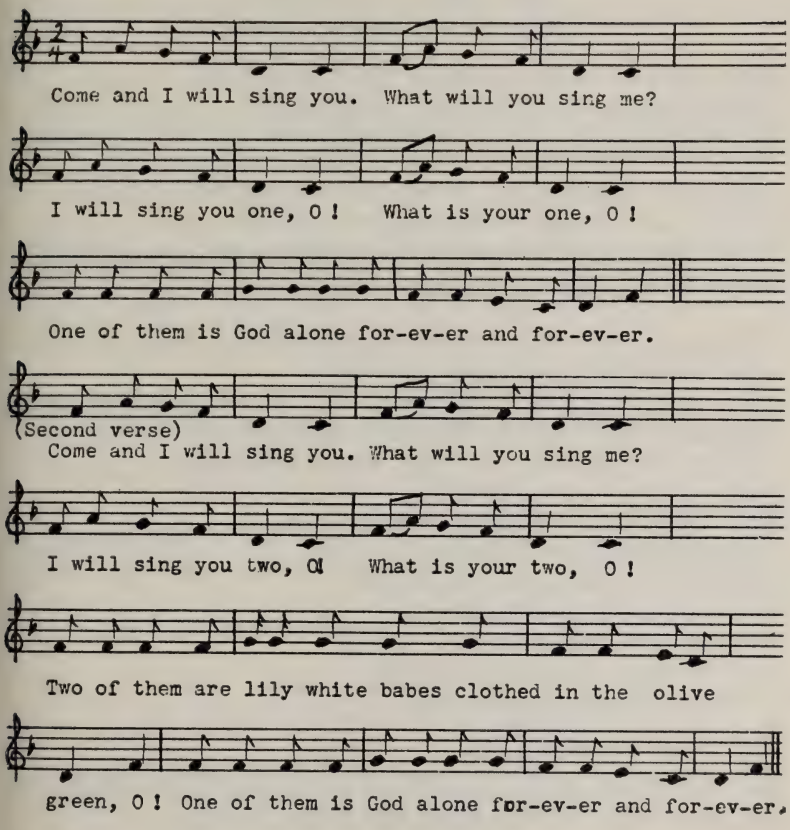
THE TWELVE APOSTLES

I learned this song from Mrs. Maude Gipson of West Frankfort, Illinois. I also have a version of this song which was sung by Mrs. Hendrickson. The two versions are similar in their words, but the tunes are decidedly different. In *Folk-Songs of the West*, by Baring-Gould, there is a version of this song with the title "Dilly Song." This song is sung in the following manner:

The leader sings the first phrase "Come and I will sing you;" this is answered by another person or a group with, "What will you sing me?" The leader responds,

"I'll sing you the one;" then follows the question by the group, "What is your one?" Then the leader responds, "One of them is God alone and shall forever

THE TWELVE APOSTLES



remain so." Then comes the question and answer part of the song, which in the case of the second verse, is sung "What is your two?" The answer comes from the leader, "Two of them are lily-white babes clothed in

the morning green, sir." Each time a number is added the previous numbers are also sung with them.

In *Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians* by Campbell and Sharp this song is called the "Ten Commandments."

THE TWELVE APOSTLES
(Sung by Mrs. Maude Gipson)

Come and I will sing you, What will you sing me?
I'll sing you the one, O! What is your one, O?
One of them is God alone, forever and forever.

Come and I will sing you. What will you sing me?
I'll sing you the two, O! What is your two, O?
Two of them were lily white babes clothed in the olive green, O.
One of them is God alone, forever and forever.

(*The song is sung in this manner until the full number of twelve is reached, so that the last verse will appear as follows*:)

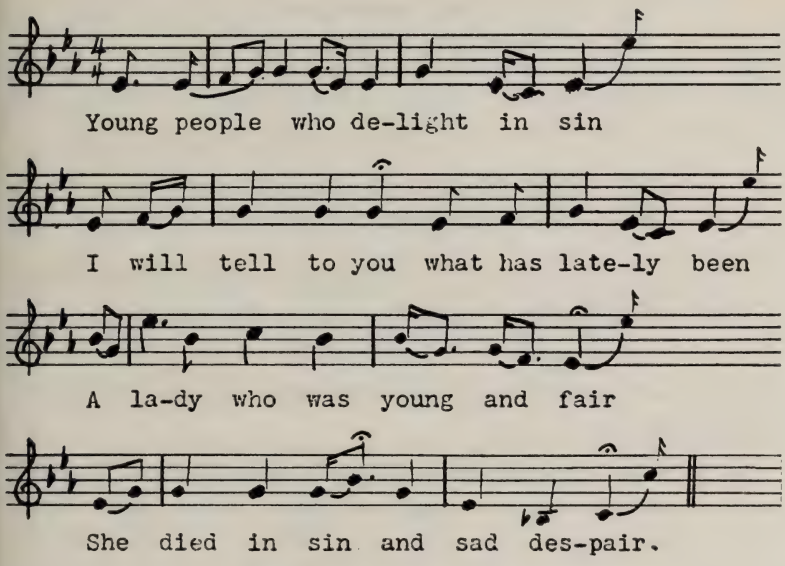
Come and I will sing you. What will you sing me?
I'll sing you the twelve, O! What is your twleve, O?
Twelve air the twelve apostles,
Twelve they were, and eleven went to Heaven.
Ten air the ten commandments,
Nine is the moonshine bright and fair,
Eight air the eight arch-angels,
Seven of them air seven stars in the sky,
Six of them air the gospel preachers,
Five air fishermen in their boats,
Four air the gospel makers,
Three of them air strangers,
And two of them air lily white babes clothed in the olive green, O!
And one of them air God alone, forever and forever.

YOUNG PEOPLE WHO DELIGHT IN SIN

This song was sung by Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson, and you will notice in the music a slur indicated at the end of each phrase. This upward slur is characteristic of

the singing of many old people. In the case of Mrs. Hendrickson, she made use of this device on very emotional songs. The slur does not always extend the octave, but usually gives this impression. Most versions of this song go under the title of "Wicked Polly."

YOUNG PEOPLE WHO DELIGHT IN SIN



YOUNG PEOPLE WHO DELIGHT IN SIN
(Sung by Mrs. Lottie Hendrickson)

Young people who delight in sin,
I will tell to you what has lately been,
A lady who was young and fair,
She died in sin and sad despair.

She would go to frolics, dance and play,
In spite of all her friends could say.
"I'll turn to God when I am old,
And then He will receive my soul."

On Friday she was taken ill;
Her stubborn heart began to yield.
"Alas, alas, my days are spent,
Too late, too late, now to repent."

She called her mother to her bed;
Her eyes were rolling in her head.
"When I am dead, remember well,
Your wicked daughter screams in Hell!!!"

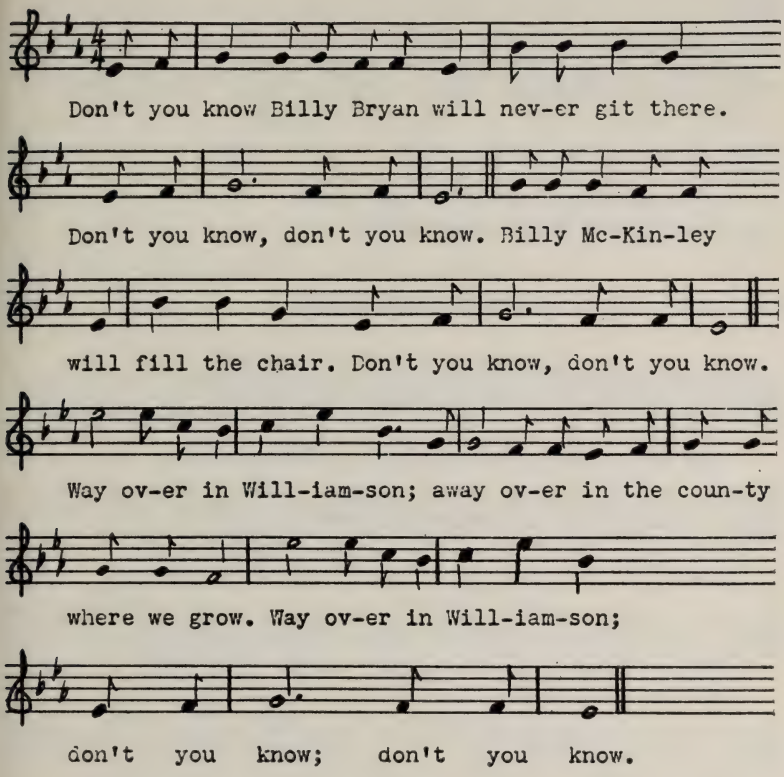
"My earthly father, fare you well,
My soul is lost and doomed to Hell.
When I am dead, remember well,
Your wicked daughter screams in Hell."

DON'T YOU KNOW

This is an old political campaign song and was sung by Mr. R. H. Finley, who gave the following description of the big political meeting that took place in his home town when McKinley was running against Bryan for president.

"Of course, there were no cars. There were sixteen white horses in the parade and one yellow one. (This was a dramatic presentation of Bryan's silver policy, 'sixteen to one makes the gold bugs shiver'). Each white horse was ridden by a girl dressed in white, but the girl riding the yellow horse was dressed in yellow. The teams of horses were hitched to band wagons—big wagons with seats around the sides facing the center of the wagon, much like bleachers at a football game. Each wagon could seat about thirty people."

DON'T YOU KNOW



DON'T YOU KNOW
(Sung by R. H. Finley)
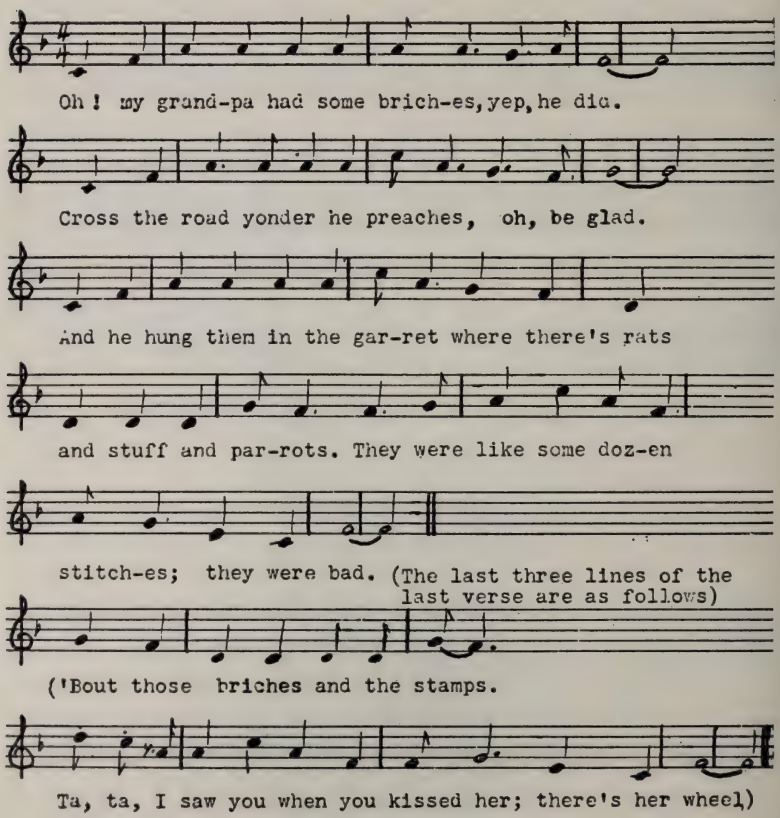
Don't you know Billy Bryan will never git there?
Don't you know? Don't you know?
Billy McKinley will fill the chair.
Don't you know? Don't you know?
Way over inWilliamson, Away over in the county where we grow,
Way over in Williamson, Don't you know? Don't you know?

Don't you know Henry Jones will be our next clerk?
Don't you know? Don't you know?
For H. P. Crain is big enough to work.
Don't you know? Don't you know?
Way over in Williamson, away over in the county where we grow,
Way over in Williamson, Don't you know? Don't you know?

(*The next verse is but a fragment*:)

Sixteen to one makes the gold bugs shiver.
Don't you know? Don't you know?

MY GRANDPA'S BRICHES



MY GRANDPA'S BRICHES

I am indebted to Miss Betty Jones, a student at Southern Illinois State Normal University at Carbondale, Illinois, for this song. She learned it from her father, who lives at Cisne, Illinois. It tells the story of a young woman who simply had to have the proper attire to wear when she went for a ride on her bicycle, even if it meant patching her grandpa's briches. It dates back to the bicycle-riding craze in the ninietes.

MY GRANDPA'S BRICHES
(Sung by Betty Jones)

Oh, my grandpa had some briches,
 Yep, he did.
'Cross the road yonder he preaches;
 Oh, be glad.
And he hung them in the garret,
Where there's rats and stuff and parrots.
They were like some dozen stitches;
 They were bad.

They were stamped upon the bosom,
 Yep, they were.
And it's something if you use them
 'Twill occur.
And those stamps were large and healthy.
Nothing mean nor small nor stealthy,
Sister Susan said they grew-some, seemed to her.

Now dear Susan is my sister,
 And she's square,
But I will have to tell you.
 Now don't swear.
She took those lovely briches,
Took and sewed them into stitches.
Oh! She'd fan me to a blister if she'd hear.

Yes, she took those lovely briches,
Don't you see?
Cut them off with lops and scriches
At the knee.
Caught them up a way so simple,
Sewed them so they formed a dimple
On the briches where the patches used to be.

Now them's her lovely bloomers,
And they're real,
When I see you wheel with sister,
I just feel
Like I'd take the laughing cramps,
'Bout those briches and the stamps.
(Ta, Ta, I saw you when you kissed her:
There's her wheel.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHICAGO HISTORY FROM PEORIA COUNTY RECORDS

BY ERNEST E. EAST

Part Two*

THE CORPSE OF FRANCIS MAY

WHEN James Kinzie spent a dollar's worth of his time hunting the corpse of Francis May as he swore on his oath he did (March 19, 1828), he left written record in the Peoria County probate court of a pioneer Chicagoan identified, at least tentatively, as the mysterious Le Mai from whom Mrs. John H. Kinzie said the elder John Kinzie purchased his cabin on the bank of the Chicago River across from Fort Dearborn.

In her *Wau-Bun*, Mrs. Kinzie identified Le Mai only as a Frenchman and Indian trader. Standard published works appear to give no answer to the question whence he came and whither he went. That his name was Francis is established by Father Garraghan, who found Le May was among "habitans à Chicagou" who took their children to St. Louis to be baptized, on October 7, 1799, by the Recollect, Father Lusson.[1]

The estate of Francis May, evidently of Chicago Precinct, came to the notice of Probate Judge Norman Hyde at Peoria on May 5, 1828. Letters of administration

* The first part of this paper appeared in the June number of the *Journal*.

[1] Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Early Catholicity in Chicago," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July, 1918), 19.

were issued by the court to Isaac Perkins, public administrator.

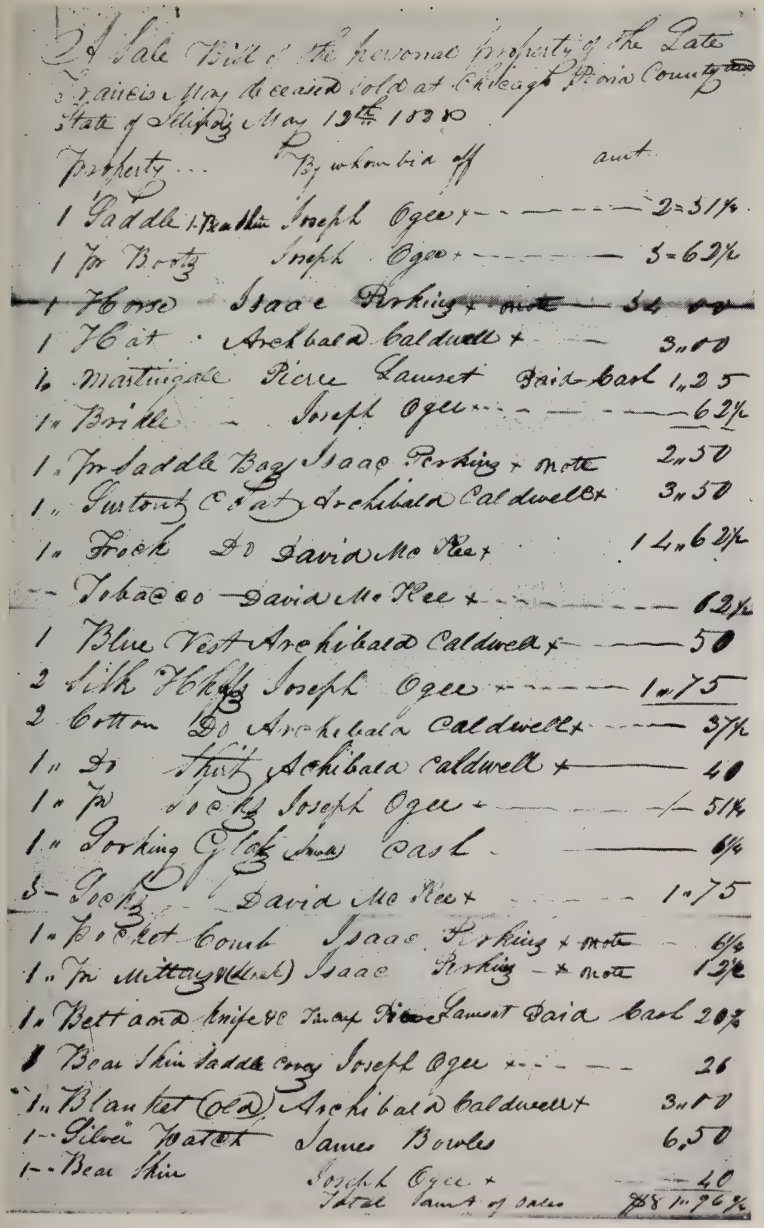
James Kinzie claimed and received payment of $22.18. His bill was itemized as follows:

1828		
March 19th.	For 4 sheets paper	.25
	" amt. of expense incurred by hunting the corpse	1.00
	" 2 diets previous to his death	.50
	" Burial Expense	15.75
	" Storage and care of property	.50
	" Praising and auction Bill	1.00
	" 3 sheets paper at 6c	.18
May 12th	" Keeping Horse	3.00
Amount due James Kinzie		22.18

The probate court record is silent on the manner of May's death. He had two meals or "diets" at the house of James Kinzie. Perhaps he was ill and wandered away to die of exposure or by some means more violent.

With the help of James Kinzie, the judge of probate, Norman Hyde, personally appraised the property of May at Chicago on May 10, 1828. Hyde also served as clerk at auction of the Frenchman's property two days later and for all of this service allowed himself $2.00. The appraisers valued May's property at $103.56¼ but the sale proceeds were only $81.96¾.

More than one-third of May's assets were in a horse which Administrator Perkins bid in at $34. For a frock coat David McKee paid $14.62½. The blacksmith also purchased five locks, and a quantity of tobacco. May had a silver watch which James Bowles bought for $6.50. Joseph Ogee, the French-Indian of Peoria and Rock River Ferry, afterwards Dixon's Ferry, took a saddle, a pair of boots, two silk handkerchiefs, socks,



A Sale Bill of the personal property of the Late
Francis May deceased sold at Chicago Peoria County
State of Illinois May 13th 1830

Property	By whom bid off	Amt
1 Saddle & Bridle	Joseph Ogee	2.31¼
1 Pr Boots	Joseph Ogee	3.62½
~~1 Horse~~	~~Isaac Perkins~~	~~34.00~~
1 Hat	Archibald Caldwell	3.00
1 Martingale	Pierre Lamont Paid Clerk	1.25
1 Bridle	Joseph Ogee	62½
1 Pr Saddle Bags	Isaac Perkins + note	2.50
1 Surtout Coat	Archibald Caldwell	3.50
1 Frock	Do David McKee	14.62½
Tobacco	David McKee	62½
1 Blue Vest	Archibald Caldwell	50
2 Silk Hdkfs	Joseph Ogee	1.75
2 Cotton Do	Archibald Caldwell	37½
1 Do Shirt	Archibald Caldwell	40
1 Pr Socks	Joseph Ogee	51¼
1 Looking Glass	Paid Clerk	6¼
3 Books	David McKee	1.75
1 Pr Shot Pouch	Isaac Perkins + note	6¼
1 Powder Horn (Used)	Isaac Perkins + note	12½
1 Belt and Knife	Pierre Lamont Paid Clerk	20¾
1 Bear Skin Saddle Cover	Joseph Ogee	26
1 Blanket (Old)	Archibald Caldwell	3.00
1 Silver Watch	James Bowles	6.50
1 Bear Skin	Joseph Ogee	40
	Total Amt of sales	$78.96¾

Sale Bill, Francis May Estate

and three bearskins. Archibald Caldwell paid $3.50 for a surtout, and bid in also a hat, a blue vest, a shirt, cotton handkerchiefs, and an old blanket. Pierre Lamsett, the only other buyer whose name is recorded, paid cash for a martingale, a belt, knife, and tin cup.

Administrator Perkins filed his account current on August 2, 1830. Disbursements of $35.67 were deducted from the proceeds of the sale, leaving a balance of $45.29¾ for distribution.

A document dated March 25, 1828, represented to be a copy, furnished a "list of the property belonging to the Estate of Francis May Decd now in the hands of William Eahart of Indiana." Eahart signed the original as did also Joseph Bay and William Kirk, the latter two as witnesses. None of this property appears to have been appraised or sold under authority of the Peoria County probate court. Among May's property in Eahart's custody were $14 in cash, wearing apparel, two toothbrushes, Indian tobacco pouch, pocket map, blank book and pencil, silver cross, silver spoon, knapsack, razor strap, soap, shoe brushes and blacking, iron wedge, "small bunch of tea" and seven pieces of bacon.

The name of Francois L'May was on the roll of a company of the First Regiment of the County of St. Clair dated August 1, 1790. French of Peoria were enrolled in the same year. It is not unlikely that L'May the militiaman, Le Mai the Chicago trader and May the later resident of Chicago Precinct were the same.

On the day Perkins filed his account current at Peoria, the court directed the administrator to pay the money to any legal heirs. No heirs are named, however, in the book record or in the documents on file and the beneficiaries of the estate remain unknown, perhaps forever.

LIQUOR AND THE LAW

Law and order accepted early the challenge of whisky, gambling and social ills in Chicago Precinct of Peoria County. Alexander Doyle, justice of the peace, appeared in the role of the reform movement's chief crusader. He pictured conditions existing at Chicago in a letter which he forwarded July 14, 1829, to John Dixon, clerk of the Peoria County commissioners' court. He wrote:

I have enclosed to you the proceedings had before me in the case of the People vs. James Kinzie for retailing liquors without a license. The wiseacres of this place have decided that I had no jurisdiction in the case. The fact has been proved to my satisfaction there is no doubt in my mind of the correctness of the charge. You will see that I have given a judgment in the case. If I have jurisdiction, please return the papers; if I have none, dispose of them as you think proper.

In consequence of our having no constable in this place, nor in this end of the county, I have appointed one pro tem. His bond will be handed to you by my son or sent to you by some other person. Stephen Scott is the constable. Will it not be best to order an election for two constables as early as possible.

The laws respecting the retailing of liquors, gambling and many other crimes of a similar nature, named in our criminal code, are violated here with impunity and if a magistrate has no jurisdiction the abuse will continue for these reasons. It is too far to go to Fort Clark to lodge information and it is too far for our sheriff to come here for grand jurors. Let me hear from you by return of Mr. Scott.

P.S. Please send me some late newspapers if you please.

Accompanying Doyle's letter was the affidavit of Francis Laducia who stated he called on Kinzie to pay a bill of seven shillings. He tendered a dollar in payment and received twelve and a half cents in change. This he gave back to Kinzie for one pint of whisky. The sale was contrary to the Criminal Code, Division 11, Section 127, providing a fine of ten dollars for selling less than one quart of liquor without a license, according to Doyle.

Whether Dixon ruled on the legality of Doyle's action or whether the clerk forwarded late newspapers to the Chicago justice the record does not disclose.

Highjacking of liquor by Indians in June, 1829, brought a complaint of Peter Lamsett before Justice Doyle on September 1. Lamsett was employed by Frederick Countryman to haul whisky from Chicago to Countryman's house in Fox River Precinct—three barrels for Countryman and also a half-barrel for Mr. Vermit. Near the River du Page, Lamsett's oxcart was overtaken by Half-day and two other Indians, all armed with knives. The Indians took a quantity of liquor from a barrel and one slashed at Lamsett when he protested. Half-day seems to have had enough but the two other Indians overtook Lamsett near the River au Sable, stopped his oxen, and from one of Countryman's barrels filled a keg they were carrying. The whisky highjacked and spilled amounted to ten gallons. Whether the Indians suffered the penalties of the law the record does not state.

A bill of divorce filed by Deborah Watkins of Chicago against Morrison Watkins on May 18, 1827, makes it appear that wickedness had claimed her husband. As Attorney Jonathan H. Pugh wrote the complaint, Mr. Watkins was "an habitual and excessive drunkard and gambler," and sought the companionship of women contrary to his marriage vows. The document adds:

> The complainant alleges that . . . she was destitute of provisions and the necessary comforts proper to a decent existence; and she has frequently been driven to submit to the humiliation of intrusting the products of her own labor and the very subsistence of life transferred from the table to the tippling shop and gambling house as the wages of vice and crime.

Prices at which taverns should sell whisky and other alcoholic beverages were fixed by the county commissioners' court. Eight dollars was the usual license fee for taverns; five received permits to operate in Chicago Precinct of Peoria County. Archibald Clybourn and Samuel Miller, jointly, were the first to be licensed by Peoria commissioners. The record, entered at a special term on May 2, 1829, reads:

> Ordered that license be granted to Archibald Clybourn & Samuel Miller to keep a tavern at Chicago in this state and that the rates which were allowed heretofore to J. L. Bogardus in the town of Peoria be allowed to the said Clybourne & Miller—and that the Clerk take bond & security of the parties for one Hundred dollars—License eight Dollars.

Bogardus was granted a permit in June, 1826, to keep a tavern at Peoria and his rates were ordered to be the same as those fixed for John Barker's tavern licensed one year earlier. In June, 1827, the commissioners published a new schedule of tavern rates as follows:

For Each ½ pint of wine rum or Brandy	$0.25 cents
" " pint of wine rum or Brandy	37 ½
" " half pint of gin	18 ¾
" " pint of gin	31 ¼
" " gill wisky	6 ¼
" " half pint *Do*	12 ½
" " pint	18 ¾
" " Breakfast Dinner or Supper	25
" " nights lodging	12 ½
" keeping horse one night to grain and hay	25
" Each horse feed	12 ½
" Keeping horse each Twenty four hours	37 ½

Archibald Caldwell, the second tavern keeper to be licensed, was granted a permit at the December term in 1829. His tax was eight dollars, his bond one hundred dollars and his rates, written into the record, were the

same as those fixed by the court in 1827.

On June 8, 1830, Alexander Robinson and Mark Beaubien each received a license to operate a tavern. The next order in the commissioners' record established tavern rates for the year but they were the same as those previously published.

The fifth and last Chicagoan to receive a tavern license from the Peoria commissioners was Russell E. Heacock. The permit was granted December 7, 1830. It read: "Ordered that Russell E. Heacock be authorized to keep a tavern at his house about five miles from Chicago —That he pay a tax of four dollars—give bond & security for one hundred—and be allowed to charge the usual rates for the present year."

Attorney Charles Ballance wrote an article entitled, "My First Trip to Chicago," for the *Peoria Weekly Republican* of June 24, 1857. He had made the visit in 1833. In this account he declared: "The only lawyer then at Chicago was a Mr. Heacock, who was more of a carpenter than a lawyer."

SKY PILOTS AND FERRY BOATS

Jesse Walker, William See and Isaac Scarritt, all of them ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, were pioneers in Protestant missionary work in Chicago and its vicinity. Like most preachers of the early day they were obliged to engage in other pursuits outside of the ministry to fill out slender purses.

"Father" Jesse Walker, a native of Rockingham County, Virginia, began his work in Illinois among the Potawatomi Indians and the handful of whites in the vicinity of Fort Clark on Peoria Lake as early as 1824. At that time he was fifty-eight years old. By 1825 he

had established a mission at the mouth of the Fox River and there he was taxed on personal property valued at fifty dollars. He sold books which he carried in his saddlebags. He applied for and received, June 6, 1826, a permit to keep a ferry across the Illinois River at the mouth of the Fox River. He was allowed to charge the same rates as John L. Bogardus did at his Peoria ferry.

Walker accompanied John Hamlin to Chicago in 1826 when the Peoria merchant took a mackinaw boat loaded with pork and peltries to the village on Lake Michigan. The Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, who wrote *Pages from the Early History of the West and Northwest*, said Walker probably preached in Chicago at that time. If he did not, remarked Beggs, it was the first time he ever overlooked such an opportunity.

Simon Crozier attempted to procure a license for a rival ferry at the mouth of the Fox River in 1828, but after a hearing at which Walker testified, the Peoria County commissioners found for the missionary preacher and renewed his ferry permit, refusing license to Crozier.

By 1829 Walker had removed to Walker's Grove, now Plainfield. In 1830 he was appointed to the Chicago mission and served as clerk at one election in that year. The Indians listened to his sermons because Walker gave them pork and corn bread. When the whites and half-breeds lined up for the pay-off under the Chicago Indian treaty of 1833, Jesse Walker headed the list with a take of $1,500. He retired to his farm twelve miles west of Chicago in 1834 and died there on October 5, 1835.

"Father" William See, whose dress, manner of speech and "small faith" in cleanliness shocked the author of *Wau-Bun*, was also a ferry operator and a blacksmith.

Mr. See was born in Charleston, Virginia in April, 1787, and lived in Kentucky and Missouri before he removed to Morgan County, Illinois, about 1820. He was in charge of the Fort Clark mission of the Methodist Church before he settled at Chicago in 1830. He probably was the first resident Methodist preacher of Chicago. He farmed for a time near Walker's Grove and kept an inn at his house. He removed to Wisconsin and died near Clyde in August, 1859.

The Peoria County commissioners entered the following on June 9, 1830:

> Ordered that William See be allowed to keep a ferry across the Callimink [Calumet] at the head of Lake Michigan—pay a tax of two dollars and charge the following rates—to wit—
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Each foot passenger | 12½ |
> | " man & horse | 25 |
> | " waggon or cart drawn by two horses or oxen | 75 |
> | " four horse waggon | 1.00 |
> | " one horse carriage or waggon | 37½ |

In two marriage certificates which are preserved at Peoria, See described himself as "an ordained minister of the Methodist Episcopal church."

Isaac Scarritt was born in Connecticut on July 3, 1775. In 1829, he took charge of Walker's Potawatomi mission at the mouth of the Fox. He built a log house six miles southeast of the present site of Naperville about 1831. He had there a horse and a cow. He relates that at one time his family had only frozen potatoes to eat. It appears Scarritt preached in Chicago during his residence in this vicinity. He removed about 1858 to Joliet where he died in May, 1861, having passed more than a half-century in the ministry.

Archibald Clybourn and Samuel Miller, jointly, were the first in Chicago Precinct to obtain a permit from the

Peoria commissioners to operate a ferry. The order was entered on June 2, 1829, and provided the proprietors might keep a ferry across Chicago River "at the lower forks near Wolf Point crossing the river below the North East branch and to land on either side of both branches to suit the convenience of all parties wishing to cross." The rates of ferriage were to be one-half the schedule fixed for John L. Bogardus' ferry at Peoria.

In 1825 the Peoria commissioners renewed a ferry license which Bogardus previously had obtained from Fulton and Sangamon counties. His rates then published remained in force until June, 1827, when the commissioners announced new rates which were substantially lower than those later fixed for William See's ferry.

It is difficult to determine from the record precisely what rates Bogardus charged in 1829. Rates of 1827, republished practically without change in June, 1830, were as follows:

	Cts.
For each foot passenger	6¼
" " man and horse	12½
" " Dearborn or one horse wagon	25
" " Sulky gig or chaise drawn by one horse having springs	50
" " Waggon or Cart drawn by 2 horses or other beasts women and children included	37½
" " waggon or cart drawn by four horses or other beasts including women and children	56¼
" each additional beast	6¼
" each head of horses oxen cows or mules	6¼
" Calves & Colts when crossing with their Mothers	free
" Hog Sheep or goats	03
" Each 100 lbs of goods wares or merchandise	4

When the water is out of its bank double those rates except at Peoria where when a landing cannot be had at the first material bend in the creek [Farm Creek] double those rates.

There is evidence indicating that Antoine Ouilmette transported merchandise by canoe for hire but these trips were irregular and he seems to have thought it unnecessary to apply for a ferry permit.

INDIANS AND ALIMONY

Indian savagery wrote early chapters in the married life of the young lieutenant, Linai Taliafero Helm, and Margaret McKillip Helm, his wife. Indian treaty property rights were written into the divorce decree that accomplished their legal separation.

The divorce record, entered in 1829 when Chicago was a district of Peoria County, is preserved in the files of the circuit court at Peoria. Mrs. Helm was the complainant. Judge Richard M. Young heard proof of charges and signed the decree which read, in part:

> And it is further ordered and decreed that the complainant hold in her own right all the money, property, reservations or interest that may have been stipulated, granted or ceded to her as one of the heirs of John Kinzie, Dec'd in the late treaty made by the government of the United States with the Ottaway, Chippewa, Pottawatomie & other tribes of Indians as part of the alimony to be allowed her out of the estate of the defendant.

Mrs. Helm personally attended the hearing on October 12, 1829, in a log courthouse at Peoria on the shore of Peoria Lake. Seventeen years earlier, on nearly the same spot, Helm was the prisoner of Mittatasse, who captured the lieutenant in the Fort Dearborn massacre and delivered him for ransom to Thomas Forsyth, half-brother of John Kinzie, and then a trader at Peorias, inhabited by French.

Helm had not lived with his wife for two years, according to the bill of divorce prepared by Attorney John

L. Bogardus of Peoria and filed October 1, 1829. The bill recited the couple were married in 1810 and that they had one son, Edwin, then aged seven years. Infidelity and habitual drunkenness were charged in the bill which grandiloquently recited allegations of misconduct on the part of the husband who, it was declared "has so far become debased . . . in body and estranged in mind . . . that he is wholly lost to his family and irreclaimable to society."

Bogardus informed the court that Lieutenant Helm had an expected interest in property worth $10,000 to $100,000, but no further reference is made specifically to such an estate. Helm appears to have been in Clay County, Illinois, when summons was served on him by Deputy John Summers who made return as follows: "The annexed writ and notice was served by me on the said Lina T. Helm by leaving a copy with the said Lina T. Helm and explaining the contents to him on the 2d day of Oct. 1829." Helm did not contest the suit.

Peoria Lake was the home of the Black Partridge, Potawatomi chief, who is assigned a heroic role in the rescue of Mrs. Helm in the Fort Dearborn massacre. About the time the Black Partridge was reputed by numerous writers to be selling his birthright to effect the ransom of Lieutenant Helm, Illinois militiamen under personal command of Gov. Ninian Edwards were destroying the chief's village and killing his women. Other testimony makes it appear that the Black Partridge was a whisky-loving Indian and had little, if anything, to do with the ransom of Helm. The reformation of the Black Partridge at the massacre seems to have been sudden. The author of *Wau-Bun* finds him at the outset of the engagement tomahawking a small girl.

This is explained, however. She was wounded and in great agony and the chief could not bear to see her suffer.

Ma-ca-ta-po-kee, meaning black partridge or drumming pheasant, was in the vicinity of Fort Clark on Peoria Lake when Indians made an attack on United States soldiers of the First Infantry when the stockade was under construction in the late summer of 1813. The savages were beaten off and shortly afterwards forty principal chiefs and warriors, headed by the old Black Partridge, proposed a treaty of peace. Lieut. Col. Robert Carter Nicholas complimented them for their decision and furnished an escort of four soldiers to St. Louis where he told them they might address themselves to William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Nicholas had no authority to treat with them.

Black Partridge, eleven other chiefs and one woman made up the Indian peace delegation. Sergt. George Davenport, in command of the escort, took along a small keg of whisky and after giving each Indian a dram proposed to hide it so the chiefs might have it upon their return. To this plan the Black Partridge demurred, insisting they should drink all the liquor immediately. The sergeant sent the Indians ahead and hid the keg in a different place from that proposed. Davenport overtook the party but "all day the Old Black Partridge was very moody and discontented."

Helm's written account of his ransom simply states that he was taken down the Illinois River and "sold" to Forsyth. The latter wrote from Peoria on September 24, 1812, to John Kinzie at Chicago, saying: "Lt Helm is here with me and in good health & spirits. Nelly's [Mrs. Kinzie's] Speech had the desired effect on Mittatass. I gave him two mares and a keg of stuff when prac-

ticable." The original Forsyth letter is preserved in the William Woodbridge Papers in the Public Library at Detroit. Mittatasse appears to have been a principal warrior of the Ottawa band headed by the Black Bird who lived on the River au Sable.

The treaty to which reference was made by Mrs. Helm doubtless was the pact concluded at Prairie du Chien on July 29, 1829. Under its terms Mrs. Helm received $800 "for losses sustained at the time of the capture of Fort Dearborn, in 1812, by the Indians." A further provision granted "to the heirs of the late John Kinzie, of Chicago, for depredations committed on him at the time of the massacre of Chicago, and at St. Joseph's, an additional sum of $3,500."

WIGWAM LOVE AND DIVORCE

Josette, an Indian woman who was accused of love-nesting in her wigwam with the young and recently-married Archibald Caldwell, gains first place in the legal record of divorce "co-respondents" of Chicago. It may be supposed that Josette belonged to one of the first families of America. Further surmise doubtless would identify her as a member of an Indian family fairly well-known to history. But the century-old record preserved in the files of the Peoria County circuit court is silent on genealogical details.

The pale-faced sides of the triangle had their origin in Virginia. Caldwell was born April 30, 1806, in Pearisburg, Giles County. Early in 1827 he married Emily Hall, the Rev. Thomas Kirk officiating. In May of the next year, Caldwell and his bride started on horseback to Chicago, arriving about July 1. The young husband's sister, Lovisa Caldwell, and their cousin, Archibald

Clybourn, had come from Virginia to Chicago a year earlier.

Caldwell was the second in Chicago Precinct of Peoria County to operate a licensed tavern. The permit was granted by the commissioners in 1829. He probably operated in partnership with James Kinzie but the license was in the name of Caldwell. His business enterprise and his affair with the Indian girl seem to have bloomed about the same time.

Attorney A. W. Cavarly, on behalf of Mrs. Caldwell, filed a libel for divorce at the June term, 1830. Mrs. Caldwell appears to have accompanied her solicitor to Peoria, for she personally made affidavit before Justice Simon Reed on June 8, in which she stated the defendant was living in the Territory of Michigan. Judge Richard M. Young directed that legal notice be published in the *Western Observer* [Jacksonville, Illinois] and continued the case to the October term. Mrs. Caldwell's complaint recited facts connected with her marriage to Archibald and their removal to Chicago. It declared:

> Your oratrix lived with the said Archibald as a dutiful and obedient wife and discharging all the duties of her station with cheerfulness and obedience until some time in the spring of 1829, the said Archibald, disregarding the solemn obligations of the husband and lost to every principle of justice toward your oratrix, his wife, voluntarily abandoned your oratrix, and took to himself an Indian woman by the name of Josette with whom he has since continued to live in adultery. And your oratrix avers that the said Archibald has repeatedly cohabitated with the said Josette, an Indian woman, and has continued to live with the said Josette in adultery for more than one year next before the filing of this Bill. Now your orator expressly charges that the said Archibald is and has been guilty of Adultery with the said Josette in the manner aforesaid.

Lovisa Caldwell, sister of the accused husband, and

David McKee, the blacksmith, furnished testimony on behalf of the complaining wife. Their stories were told in depositions taken before Justice John B. Beaubien at the house of Samuel Miller in Chicago on October 2, 1830. Beaubien explained that both witnesses were in "bad health" and it would be injurious to them to make the journey to "Fort Clark." Depositions were filed at Peoria on October 11. "Lovica Caldwell," as Beaubien wrote it, was the first witness. Interrogatories and answers were as follows:

Question 1st Do you know the parties to the above suit
Answer I do
2 Was you present at the marriage of above named Archibald and Emily if so state the time when and where they were married and by whom
Answer I was present at the marriage of Archibald Caldwell above named with Emily Caldwell in the state of Verginia they were married by a preacher of the name of Thomas Kirk in Giles County

On the same sheet is the deposition of David McKee:

Question 1st by the complainant Do you know the parties to the above bill
Answer I do
Question 2 Was you present at the time Archibald Caldwell the above named defendant lift his wife the above named Emily and went into the wigwam of a squaw if so state all that you saw at that time take place between the parties
Answer In eighteen hundred and twenty nine Mrs. Emely Caldwell requested me to go with her to the wigwam of a squaw I went with her and found Archibald Caldwell her husband in the wigwam nursing an indian child and the squaw left the camp I heard Archibald say he was going to live there and his wife might do the best she could.

In the file is a summons for Thomas Morris of Tazewell County commanding him to appear as witness on behalf of Mrs. Caldwell, but no further reference is made

to him. The circuit court record of October 11 states the cause was continued and the order of publication renewed on motion of complainant. Whether the suit was dropped or transferred upon organization of the Cook County circuit court, the record does not state. No further orders appear at Peoria. Mrs. Caldwell became the wife of Cole Weeks, a discharged soldier. Archibald Caldwell appears to have turned his back on civilization and with his Indian mate found contentment in the wilds of Wisconsin.

"GOOD INDIAN" CHIEFS

Reputations deserved only by "good Indians" were held by early Chicago's principal half-breed chiefs, Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson. Although each was the son of a white father he preferred to lead the life of the redman. Much concerning both has been printed in standard works on Chicago but to this may be added bits of documentary evidence connected with their activities when Chicago was a precinct of Peoria County.

Caldwell was the son of a Potawatomi woman and Capt. William Caldwell, later a colonel, who was an officer in the British service at Detroit and Amherstburg. He came from Ireland in 1773, serving under Lord Dunmore with Butler's Rangers and in wars in the West. Caldwell acknowledged his half-breed son and sent him to school. Both served the British in the War of 1812; Billy was a captain in the Indian Department and his father was a quartermaster. They were with or near Tecumseh when the Shawnee chief fell at the Battle of the Thames.

The daughter of an Indian chief concerning whose an-

cestry there is considerable confusion became the wife of Billy Caldwell. He joined his mother's people at Chicago about the time the second Fort Dearborn was built and lived there until he went westward with the Indians in 1835, dying near Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, on September 27, 1841.

The Caldwell family papers are in possession of Mrs. Hilda Caldwell Teeter of Amherstburg, Ontario, great-granddaughter of Colonel Caldwell, who generously placed her records at the disposal of the compiler. Several documents bear the signature of Billy Caldwell. Billy's name appears not less than eight times in the records of Peoria County. His signature is preserved in the bill of appraisement in the estate of John Crafts, Chicago trader.

David McKee, J. M. Peck, John Wentworth and others who had personal acquaintance with Caldwell recollected in him only qualities of virtue. As the Sauga-nash, meaning a man of the white race, Caldwell is credited by Mrs. John H. Kinzie with saving the life of John Kinzie—which had already been saved several times—after the Fort Dearborn massacre.

When Mark Beaubien opened his tavern for which he obtained a license from the Peoria County commissioners, he honored his mixed-blood friend by naming it "Sauganash."

Peoria County commissioners shared the respect of other men of the white race held for Caldwell and recommended him to the Governor for justice of the peace when that office was filled by appointment. The record, however, fails to disclose that Caldwell ever qualified for such a commission.

If his attendance upon election day fairly indicates his

interest in American government, then Caldwell was superior to most of his white brethren in Chicago. He voted at all of the four elections for which more than a fragmentary record has been preserved.

The chief served as judge at the first election in Chicago Precinct in August, 1826, and for this service received a dollar from Peoria County. Dr. Alexander Wolcott was regularly appointed to serve with John Kinzie and John B. Beaubien, but the physician was in New York on business connected with the estate of John Crafts. Caldwell's selection doubtless was made by his neighbors.

Caldwell made several purchases at the sale of the estate of Trader W. H. Wallace, April 27, 1827. The original sale bill records his purchases as follows:

14 ornamented waist Belts at 60 c	$8.40
1 Indian pipe at 38 (amt. in Jno. Kinzie's note)	.38
1 piece Blue Calico 32 yd 19	6.08
1 Men's Saddles pd by Jno. Kinzie Senr	8.50

When the combined Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa relinquished the last of their lands in Illinois and settled on a reservation near Council Bluffs, Billy Caldwell accompanied them. Before he ended his days there he wrote, evidently at the request of Whig adherents, a testimonial of the valor of Gen. William Henry Harrison, successful candidate for president in 1840.

Alexander Robinson, called Chee-chee-been-quay (the Squint-eye), also a mixed-blood chief of a Potawatomi band, shared with Caldwell the good opinion of his white neighbors and left a record of numerous acts of benevolence. Alexander lived at Hardscrabble on the south branch of the Chicago River and there engaged in

barter with white traders and doubtless with Indians also. His father probably was a Scotch trader who had served in the British army. His marriage to Catherine Chevalier took place on September 28, 1826, and the original certificate, executed by Justice John Kinzie, is preserved at Peoria.

Robinson, with property valued at $200, was on the first list of taxables of Peoria County in 1825. He voted at the general election at "Cobweb Castle" on August 7, 1826. He sold goods or peltries worth $700 to the American Fur Company, for which he received the note of John Crafts, its agent, and receipted for payment, by his mark, when Crafts' estate was later administered. He was among purchasers at the sale of Trader W. H. Wallace's estate; he received a license to operate a tavern from the commissioners of Peoria County and he served as election clerk, carrying the election returns to Peoria for which service he received $16.

Chief Chee-chee-been-quay was awarded two sections of land on the Des Plaines River under the treaty of Prairie du Chien, 1829, and there he died at a very great age on April 22, 1872.

VILLAGE TO CITY

Considerably more than half of the adult male inhabitants of Chicago were French or French-Indian, it appears from the list of taxables in 1825 and the poll-list of 1826. Names of 162 men and women were recorded during the period of Chicago's attachment to Peoria County. Of these at least 72, or 44 per cent, were French or French-Indian. With the decline of the fur trade, the *engagés* and others dependent upon the Indian trade drifted elsewhere. The opening of the Erie Canal pro-

vided an easier route for New England emigrants, although the racial complexion of the village was not much changed by the time Chicago became the seat of Cook County. When the village was incorporated in 1833, the population was little larger, if any, than it had been in the latter part of the previous decade, and smaller if the garrison stationed at Fort Dearborn in 1828-1831 is considered. But immediately after the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa Indians, together with a number of their half-breed relatives, relinquished the last of their Illinois lands and quit lower Lake Michigan to go farther west, a real estate boom attracted speculators, merchants, and homeseekers, and Chicago was lifted into the ranks of growing cities.

Within only a little more than a century she has risen from the unimportant precinct of Peoria County, Illinois, to the second largest city in the United States.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SHABBONA

The following sketch of the Indian who above all others deserves the grateful remembrance of the people of Illinois was called to our attention by Mr. Frank E. Stevens, whose writings on Illinois history are well known to many readers. This account originally appeared in the *Ottawa Free Trader* of July 23, 1859. Perhaps it should be stated that the name of Shabbona—this is the most common form —is spelled with almost infinite variety.—Editor.

This renowned Indian chief, whom the early settlers in Northern Illinois have so many reasons to remember with gratitude, died at his wigwam some fifteen miles east of Ottawa, on the south bank of the Illinois river, on Monday evening, the 18th inst. He had been indisposed for several days, but on the day before his death had gone fishing, and got a wetting from which he took a severe cold, causing his death as above. He was between 82 and 85 years of age.

The death of Shabene deserves a better tribute than a simple announcement. He was much more than an ordinary man, and his name is worthy to be enrolled in the list of those who have done good in their day and generation. To do justice to his memory, would require an abler pen than ours, yet we cannot suffer the occasion to pass without recurring to a few familiar incidents of his chequered career, to show that the respect and affection which our people always entertained for him was not unworthily placed.

Of the birth, parentage, and early history of Shabene, of course, little can be known. The Pottawattamie tribe of Indians, in which he was born and to which he belonged, occupied, in his youthful days, a large tract of country, extending from Mackinaw over all Michigan, Northern Indiana to the Wabash, and Illinois as far south as Peoria county. Numerous and warlike, their hunting grounds were circumscribed only by the ranges of the still stronger tribes of the far South, or the pale faces on the East. As a brave, who at the age of 16, was allowed to paint the bloody hand on his blanket, there were few favored spots, either notable for deeds of valor, or the abundance of game, in all the wide range of his tribe, but were familiar to Shabene.

At the breaking out of the war between England and the United States in 1812, the Pottawattamie tribe espoused the cause of Eng-

land. If we may take the authority of Shabene, the tribe did not hastily or without much hesitation, join the British standard. They were mainly induced to do so through the persuasion of that adroit and wily chief, Tecumseh. Of the address and craft of this celebrated chief, Shabene could relate many anecdotes, having fought by his side in more than one bloody engagement, and been much in his counsel. It is well known that it was mainly through the influence of this Chief, that the English, in 1812, were enabled to enlist against the United States all the Indian tribes from Canada to Florida. At a council of the chiefs which he assembled on the Wabash in 1812, Shabene relates, in the midst of a storm, a tree was struck by lightning and set on fire. Tecumseh coolly went to the tree and lighted his pipe, telling the assembled chiefs that the fire had been sent by the Great Spirit at his request to enable them to light their pipes. At another council, to confirm his words, he told the chiefs that on a certain day, he would cause the Great Spirit to make the sun hide his face. The British officers at Detroit had told him when an eclipse would occur, and he thus turned the information to account. In the various battles in which Tecumseh was engaged during the war of 1812, Shabene fought close by his side, as his body guard or aid, and at the famous battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh fell, Shabene was not only at his side and saw him fall, but received several wounds himself, the scars of which he bore in his hand and on his hip to his grave.—That it was Col. Johnson who gave the death shot to Tecumseh, Shabene places beyond a doubt. He says that he had for quite a while closely watched the motions of Colonel Johnson until he fired the fatal shot; and years afterwards, when presented to a large company in which Col. Johnson was present, but whom he had not seen since the battle of the Thames, he instantly picked him out as the man who had shot Tecumseh. He says, however, that Tecumseh had received several severe wounds, before he was finally slain. Immediately after the death of Tecumseh he says he looked around and saw not only the Indians, but the red coats flying in all directions. "And what did you do?" asked the person to whom he was narrating the occurrence on one occasion. "Shabene puckashee!" (Shabene run too,) was his blunt reply. This battle was the last in which Shabene or his tribe ever raised a hand against the pale faces. He said the English had deceived them. They had promised utterly to destroy the people of the United States, and to restore to the Indians all their hunting grounds, which they had not done.

At the close of the war, Shabene, through the influence of Caldwell and Robinson, was elected "peace chief" of the Pottawattamie tribe. To understand what this means, it is necessary to know something of the polity of the tribe. It had two chiefs—a war chief, who was highest in rank, and led the braves in their warlike expeditions

and a peace chief who presided in council, and directed the civil affairs of the tribe. Besides these, the tribe had also two managers—counsellors, or chief ministers, who advised and aided both chiefs in the discharge of their duties. The war chief, in Shabene's days was Wauponsa, and the counsellors were Caldwell, the son of a British officer at Detroit, and Robinson, the son of a Frenchman—both of Indian mothers. They were both shrewd, intelligent men, and honestly devoted to the welfare of the tribe.

From the close of the war of 1812 we have little to relate of Shabene, beyond that he peacefully and acceptably administered the affairs of his tribe, ever manifesting a kindly spirit towards the whites, who had every confidence in his friendship and entire good faith and honesty, until the occasion offered, in the breaking out of the "Black Hawk war" in 1831, in Illinois, for his winning the confidence and esteem of the pale faces in a still more marked degree.

The Black Hawk war commenced in consequence of the refusal of the Sacs and Foxes, of whom Black Hawk was one of the chiefs, to remove west of the Mississippi, in compliance with solemn treaty stipulations with the U. S.

By the promptness and energy of Gov. Reynolds, in 1831, in calling out the militia, driving the Sacs across the Mississippi, and destroying their village at the mouth of Rock river, he had put as was supposed at the time, a speedy end to the trouble. But to the amazement of the people of Illinois, in the spring of 1832, the chief Black Hawk, with what was known as the [British Band?] recrossed the Mississippi river, threatening to exterminate the whites, and retake the village near Rock Island. Of course Black Hawk would not engage in this bold venture, without the promised support of other tribes. From Keokuk, the other chief of the Sacs and Foxes, with whom he had long been at enmity, of course, he could expect no support. The Winnebagoes had partially promised their aid, but his main hope of assistance was from the powerful tribe of the Pottawattamies. His emissaries to the tribe were numerous and importunate—the tribe undecided. Finally, early in 1832, a council of the tribe was called on the DesPlaines river, 12 miles west of Chicago, and singularly enough, at that council but one white man was allowed to be present, and that man was Capt. Geo. E. Walker, then and still a resident of Ottawa. Special messengers were sent to Ottawa, to invite his presence. Robinson, also, was present. The deliberation was protracted—the discussion animated. Robinson—as true a man as ever lived—Shabene—no less true—and Walker—bore the chief part in opposing a junction with Black Hawk, and in the end they carried the point. The council dissolved and the tribe dispersed, except that about 100 warriors agreed to join the whites with Walker as their captain, and he actually marched them to the headquarters of the army at Dixon, where 42 of them, of whom Shabene

was one, were regularly enrolled by Gen. Atkinson in the service of the U. S; and they served faithfully to the end of the war, the chief duty assigned them being to run as scouts, spies, messengers, etc. In this office Shabene was particularly efficient. Before the decision of his tribe on the DesPlaines, he visited Black Hawk, and strongly counseled and implored him to abandon his absurd project against the whites, and finding him immovable, he rode night and day to warn the whites of his purposes, indicating to them the probable time and place when and where he would strike; and if his counsel had always been heeded, many massacres might have been avoided. After he had regularly enlisted in the service, his labors were unceasing. In company, most of the time, with Capt. Walker, he rode almost incessantly, day and night, carrying information from point to point that was of the utmost service. In these expeditions, he would never allow Mr. Walker to stand guard at night. The reason he gave was, that Mr. Walker's life was worth more than his, besides, if they were surprised, he would be killed first, and then the whites could not say he had dealt falsely with Mr. W. We could give many instances of his faithfulness and intrepidity during this singular war, but we must hasten to a close. Suffice it to say, that after its long series of strange bungles and blunders, when it was finally, in defiance of the orders of Gen. Atkinson, ended in a blaze of glory on the heights of the Wisconsin and at the Bad Axe, by Gen. Henry, the faithful Shabene and Capt. Walker were chosen to carry the grateful news to Gen. Scott at Chicago, which they accomplished without accident, a distance of 170 miles, in the incredibly short time of 36 hours, without a road or beaten path to travel on.

At the close of the war, Shabene was rewarded for his services by a pension of $200 a year from the government of the U. S; which he continued to receive to his death.

In 1833 his tribe was removed by the U. S. to the west of the Missouri river—now Kansas—numbering then but about 8,000 souls. Shabene went with them; but being there thrown in the close vicinity of the Sacs and Foxes, the Sioux, and other tribes that cordially hated the whites, he found it unpleasant to live in such a proximity. In a difficulty with them one of his sons was killed, and himself and family were incessantly annoyed and harrassed. In 1840 he returned to Illinois, and erected his wigwam at what was thenceforth called Shabene's Grove, in DeKalb County, the government of the U. S. granting him the usufruct of the grove during his lifetime. He remained there three or four years, and then returned to his tribe west of the Missouri. After a few years he again returned to Illinois, with his family, but found that during his absence the government had surveyed and sold his grove. He wandered about from place to place, until finally, a year or two ago, the citizens of Ottawa and vicinity raised a subscription, and purchased him a

home of 20 acres, erecting a suitable building upon it, in the timber on the Illinois river, where, on Monday evening, he breathed his last.

The family of Shabene, who were with and around him at this home, consisted of children and grand children to the number of 25 or 30. It was seldom however, that over ten or twelve were with him at the same time—the rest moving about from place to place, hunting, fishing, or selling their little wares to the whites.

The news of the death of Shabene was brought to this city on Tuesday, with an intimation that he would be buried that afternoon at a spot selected by himself near his wigwam. Capt. Walker and others of our old citizens went up to attend the funeral, but on arriving there found that, although his grave had been dug at the spot he had selected, sundry citizens of Morris had early in the day conveyed his body to that city for burial. Not knowing when the funeral at Morris was to take place, or whether it had not already taken place, the people from Ottawa returned home, without having seen his remains. He was buried at Morris, we learn, on Tuesday evening, amid the tolling of the bells of the city, a very large concourse of the citizens having attended the conveyance of his remains to their final resting place.

HISTORIC LANDMARK DISAPPEARS

In the north end of Waterloo, during the month of March of this year, one of the houses built in the pioneer period of our state was dismantled. This building, known for years as the Rogers homestead, had become unsafe for occupancy, and with its demolition our town loses another of its historic landmarks.

One hundred and twenty-two years ago, or two years before Illinois was admitted to the Union as a state, a young man named Emery Peter Rogers, came from Massachusetts to settle in the Illinois Territory. Equipped with a thorough education, he began his career in the West as a school teacher. Of powerful build, he was well able to endure the rigors of pioneer life. Soon after his arrival in Monroe County he left the teaching profession, and on a site just opposite the former Rogers house, he opened a small store. The building which housed his first business venture was a log cabin, much resembling all the other sturdy houses along the Kaskaskia Trail. His business prospered to such an extent that in 1826 he was able to erect a large rock building—a part of which was to be used as a hotel—on the spot of the recently destroyed brick home. When



Rogers House, Waterloo

in 1843 a portion of the building was destroyed by fire, Peter Rogers then built the large, brick house, which stood almost a century—used first as a tavern and later as a private residence.

The cluster of houses which sprang up around this beautiful building was known as "Peterstown," in honor of Peter Rogers. One can easily imagine the activity centering in the neighborhood of this combined store and tavern. Besides the hotel which housed travelers from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes and perhaps far-away Pittsburgh and Boston, Peters also owned a carding mill and sawmill which attracted industrious settlers from other counties besides Monroe. Lacking the facility of today's steam engines, the wool carding machine was run by horse-power, and even oxen were used in the treadmill.

The Monroe County records for August, 1816, preserved then in old Harrisonville, show that tavern rates in this county were fixed by the county commissoners court. It is amusing to note the rates of that day:

Lodging for one night.....6¼ c and 12½ c
Warm breakfast, dinner or supper.....25 c
Hay, oats or fodder for a horse for 24 hours.....37½ c

This Monroe County tavern faced directly west where, over beautiful rolling fields, the Missouri bluffs, far across the Mississippi River, were plainly visible. The dimensions of this house, set back some twenty-one feet from the road, indicate a spaciousness seldom found at that time on the Illinois prairie. Sixty-two feet, ten inches long, and thirty feet, ten inches wide, majestically secure against the elements, it stood, a joy to all lovers of architectural beauty. The interior was constructed entirely of solid oak, including the joists, window frames, and even hand-split laths. There were eleven fireplaces, with walnut mantels. The outside brick walls were eleven inches thick, the east side rock wall eighteen inches thick. Every window consisted of twenty-four tiny panes. No windows or doors were built on the north side. Every thought as to strength and comfort in the construction of this building was made a reality.

The early records of Monroe County show that Mr. Rogers held many county offices, dating from 1818 to 1849. His children were also prominent in the activities of the community, and brought life and gaiety to the old homestead. Those who lived in this interesting

house were: Mary Rogers (wife of Judge H. C. Talbott), Maria Rogers (Mrs. Ambrose Hoener), William H. Rogers, David M. Hardy (a stepson), and Alice Rogers (Mrs. John A. Burke).

During the days of the Civil War, the Rogers home was saddened by the loss of the young lieutenant, Will Rogers (Company A, Forty-ninth Illinois Regiment) who was killed at the Battle of Shiloh. His body was brought to Waterloo Cemetery for burial.

Emery Peter Rogers, a prominent and progressive pioneer citizen of Waterloo, died at his home in November, 1859.

The removal of the Peter Rogers house has brought back memories of numerous incidents in the history of Waterloo, for many events in the history of the town are associated with this interesting old home.

MARGUERITE LOIS RICKERT

WATERLOO, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

BANQUET MENU, 1854

On March 2, 1854, the Governor, Legislature, and Judiciary of Illinois were guests of the people of St. Louis at a banquet at Mercantile Library Hall. The "bill of fare," as reported by the *Missouri Republican* of March 4, 1854, follows.—Editor.

Soups

Mock turtle
Oyster

Fish

Pike, shrimp sauce
Trout, claret sauce
Baked bass
Fresh salmon, London sauce

Cold Dishes

Boned turkey
A la mode beef
Hams, tongues
Young bear, roasted

Roasts

Ribs of beef
Turkey
Fillets of veal
Sirloin beef
Lamb, mint sauce
Geese, apple sauce
Saddle of mutton
Chickens
Ducks
Pig

Boiled

Turkey, oyster sauce
Corned beef
Tongues

Ornaments

Pyramid of oranges
Pound cake
Pyramid of macaroni
Punch jelly cake
Fruit cake
Meringue, a la Kraus

Ices

Roman punch
Cold custard
Strawberry ice cream
Lemon ice cream
Vanilla ice cream
Mocha ice cream

Pastries

Cranberry pie
Fresh peach pie
Mince pie
Green apple pie
Rice pudding
Plum pudding
Meringue pie
Cabinet pudding

Jellies

Madeira jelly
Charlotte russe
Fresh peach in Madeira, a la Edwin Ellis

Legs mutton, caper sauce

Baked

Ham, champagne sauce
Calves' head, brain sauce

Game

Saddle of venison, jellies
Partridges
Red heads
Teal ducks
Grouse
Mallard ducks
Wild geese

Entrees

Macaroni baked
Lamb chops with green peas
Blanquette of mutton
Sweetbreads
Veal cutlets
Liver, a la Belgium

Salads

Chicken
Lobster

Vegetables

Potatoes, boiled
Potatoes, baked
Potatoes, mashed
Beets
Asparagus
Turnips
Water cress
Parsnips
Onions
Beans
Cabbage
Tomatoes
Lettuce
Spinach
Oyster plant
Peas

Fresh strawberries and cream
Rum jelly
Blanc mange

Desserts

Lady fingers
Jelly macaroons
Nonpareil macaroons
Bread and butter a la Stuttgart
Half eggs a la Belgium
"Stars and stripes"
Cinnamon stars
Ladies' cake
Jelly jumbles
Meringue a la Paris
Victoria cake
Rock cake
Sponge cake
Jelly stick
Soufflees

Coffee

Mocha
Laguira
Old government Java

Fruits

Oranges
Almonds
Figs
Pecan nuts
Barcelonas
English walnuts
Apples
Raisins
Prunes

Wines and liquors

Heidsick champagne	Hochheimer
Anchor champagne	Rudesheim
Bollinger champagne	Haut sauternes
"Irroy" champagne	Stein & Liston
Sparkling catawba	Chateau Margaux
Harmony sherry	Chateau Latour
South side madeira	Chateau Laville
Old "Sutton" pale brandy	Palmer Margaux
Old "Sutton" dark brandy	Haut brion
Rhenish wines, 1835	

Malts

Dove's Falkirk ale	Bass' London brown stout
Barclay and Perkins' stout	Campbell's ale

Cordials

Italian maraschino	Dutch curacao

French noveaux

Havana and Principe cigars

ILLINOIS: THE SUCKER STATE

Col. James Johnson of Kentucky, had gone there [Galena] with a party of miners in 1824, and had opened a lead mine about one mile above the present town. His great success drew others there in 1825; and in 1826 and 1827, hundreds and thousands of persons from Illinois and Missouri, went to the Galena country to work the lead mines. It was estimated that the number of miners in the mining country in 1827, was six or seven thousand. The Illinoians run up the Mississippi river in steamboats in the spring season, worked the lead mines during warm weather, and then run down the river again to their homes, in the fall season; thus establishing, as was supposed, a similitude between their migratory habits and those of the fishy tribe called "Suckers." For which reason the Illinoians were called "Suckers," a name which has stuck to them ever since. There is another account of the origin of the nick-name "Suckers," as applied to the people of Illinois. It is said that the south part of the State was originally settled by the poorer class of people from the slave States, where the tobacco plant was extensively cultivated.

They were such as were not able to own slaves in a slave State, and came to Illinois to get away from the imperious domination of their wealthy neighbors. The tobacco plant has many sprouts from the roots and main stem, which if not stripped off, suck up its nutriment and destroy the staple. These sprouts are called "suckers," and are as carefully stripped off from the plant and thrown away, as is the tobacco worm itself. These poor emigrants from the slave States were jeeringly and derisively called "suckers," because they were asserted to be a burthen upon the people of wealth; and when they removed to Illinois, they were supposed to have stripped themselves off from the parent stem, and gone away to perish like the "sucker" of the tobacco plant. This name was given to the Illinoians at the Galena mines, by the Missourians. Analogies always abound with those who desire to be sarcastic; so the Illinoians, by way of retaliation, called the Missourians "Pukes." It had been observed that the lower lead mines in Missouri had sent up to the Galena country whole hoards of uncouth ruffians, from which it was inferred that Missouri had taken a "Puke," and had vomited forth to the upper lead mines, all her worst population. From thenceforth the Missourians were regularly called "Pukes;" and by these names of "Suckers" and "Pukes," the Illinoians and Missourians are likely to be called, amongst the vulgar, forever.

THOMAS FORD, *History of Illinois*, 67-69.

PORTRAIT OF A PIONEER SOLON

On one occasion, an audacious Yankee (no doubt of the "carpet-bag" stripe) had wormed himself into the Legislature, and took occasion to submit a proposition questioning the validity to the titles of the indentured slaves. Instantly an old fellow rose to his feet and remarked, that "fittener men" than he was "mout have been found to defend the masters agin the sneaking ways of these infernal abolitioners; but, having rights on my side, I don't fear, sir. I will show that ar proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal, and fornenst the compact. Don't every one know, or least wise had ought to know, that the Congress that *sot* at *Visann* garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers, and hain't I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State? Answer me that, sir."

This raised a storm of applause, and was regarded as an extinguisher.

JOSEPH GILLESPIE, "Recollections of Early Illinois," *Fergus Hist. Series*, No. 13, pp. 10-11.

THE PEOPLE V. OWEN LOVEJOY

At the May term, 1842, of the Bureau County Circuit Court, Richard M. Young presiding, Norman H. Purple, Prosecuting-Attorney, *pro tem.*, the Grand Jury returned a "true bill" against Owen Lovejoy (then lately a preacher of the Gospel), for that "a certain negro girl named Agnes, then and there being a fugitive slave, he, the said Lovejoy, knowing her to be such, did harbor, feed, secrete, and clothe," contrary to the statute, etc.,—and the Grand Jurors did further present "that the said Lovejoy, a certain fugitive slave called *Nance*, did harbor, feed, and aid," contrary to the statute, etc. At the October term, 1842, the Hon. John Dean Caton, a Justice of the Supreme Court, presiding, the case came up for trial, on a plea of *not guilty*. Judge Purple, and B. F. Fridley, States' Attorney, for the people, and James H. Collins, and Lovejoy in person, for the defence. The trial lasted nearly a week, and Lovejoy and Collins fought the case with a vigor and boldness almost without a parallel. The prosecution was urged by the enemies of Lovejoy with an energy and vindictiveness with which Purple and Fridley could have had little sympathy. When the case was called for trial, a strong pro-slavery man, one of those by whom the indictment had been procured, said to the States' Attorney:

"Fridley, we want you to be sure and convict this preacher, and send him to prison."

"Prison! Lovejoy to prison!" replied Fridley, "your persecution will be a damned sight more likely to send him to Congress."

Fridley was right—Lovejoy was very soon after elected to the State Legislature, and then to Congress, where, as you all know, he was soon heard from by the whole country.

ISAAC N. ARNOLD, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar," *Fergus Hist. Series*, No. 14, pp. 138-39.

MIKE FINK'S CALL TO BATTLE

"I'm a Salt River roarer! I'm a ring-tailed squealer! I'm a reg'lar screamer from the ol' Massassip'! WHOOP! I'm the very infant that refused his milk before its eyes were open, and called out for a bottle of old Rye! I love the women an' I'm chockful o' fight! I'm half wild horse and half cock-eyed alligator and the rest o' me is crooked snags an' red-hot snappin' turkle. I can hit like fourth-proof lightnin' an' every lick I make in the woods lets in an acre o' sunshine. I can out-run, out-jump, out-shoot, out-brag, out-drink, an' out-fight, rough-an'-tumble, no holts barred, ary man on both sides the river from Pittsburgh to New Orleans an' back ag'in to St. Louiee. Come on, you flatters, you bargers, you milk-white mechanics, an' see how tough I am to chaw! I ain't had a fight for two days an' I'm spilein' for exercise. Cock-a-doodle-doo!"

BLAIR & MEINE, *Mike Fink*, 105-106.

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THE LIQUOR PROBLEM, 1785

The Court assembled to remedy the continual abuses, which are daily committed in this village through the liquor which is served to the savages, from which there results effects very dangerous and penicious to the welfare and the tranquillity of the public.

The Court has forbidden and does forbid very expressly all persons, of whatever quality and condition they may be, to give any intoxicating drink, even a draught, to the savages under pretext of social visit, of acquaintance, by way of trade or otherwise, either on their arrival or their departure, on pain of three hundred *livres* fine and confiscation of the business they have made, and of greater punishment in case of second offense; in regard to which the savages shall be believed on their affidavit without need of greater proof, and the savages shall be held until they have made their affidavit. We reserve, however, to M. Trottier, commandant of this village, the liberty to give some with prudence and moderation, when the savages shall come to see him either for holding councils or on other occasions when a commandant cannot dispense therewith, as it is

customary. Given at the session of the Court the said day and year. And the present decree shall be read, published and placarded on the door of this church and announced to the alien merchants residing in this post, so that they may not plead the cause of ignorance.

LABUXIERE, Clerk. J. B. H. LACROIX, Pres.

Published and placarded for the second time December 3, 1786.

LABUXIERE.

C. W. ALVORD, *Cahokia Records*, 215-17.

THE WHIPPING POST IN ILLINOIS

It was, I believe, the fall of 1834. Jim Piatt, living near the present site of Monticello, lost two valuable horses. As two strangers had been seen in that section but a few days before, they were at once suspected of having stolen the horses, and calling a neighbor or two to assist, Piatt started in pursuit. Coming over to Decatur and securing the services of Sheriff Austin, and ascertaining that two persons answering the description had passed Decatur in a southerly direction, they spurred on after them. They overhauled them after a short run, down on 'Flat Branch' and they gave themselves up and were brought back and confined in the old log jail, which then stood about where Lintner & Co's warerooms are on the new square.

They had a speedy trial and were sentenced to twenty-nine lashes each. They both objected to being tied up as was the custom, and stripping naked to the waist the Sheriff proceeded to administer the penalty. The lash came down with a terrible swish and each stroke drew a spirt of blood, but only a tremor and a slight groan escaped the victim, with teeth so firmly set that blood rushed from their compressed gums, they stood surrounded by a determined jury. They were bathed, given a horn of whisky and admonished to 'light out' and it is unnecessary to add were never more seen in this neighborhood. There are but a few of us—probably five or six—now living in Macon county, who were present at this whipping. Although whippings at the post were no uncommon thing in the early history of Decatur, this was the only one I ever witnessed.

Decatur Times in *Illinois State Journal*, June 16, 1876.

"TRUTH WILL COME TO LIGHT"

As examples of how history, written thirty years since, may be augmented in value by subsequent research, these instances are cited:

[From the *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, Saturday, May 25, 1816.]

"FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD

will be given to any person who will deliver to me, in Cahokia, a negro boy named Moses, who ran away from me in Cahokia about two months since. He is about 16 years old, well made, and did belong to Messrs. McNight & Brady in St. Louis, where he has been seen frequently, and is supposed to be harbored there or about there. He had on a hunting-shirt when he left me. May 14. 1816. JOHN REYNOLDS."

[From the *Illinois Herald*, Oct. 1, 1815.]

"NOTICE.—I have for sale 22 slaves. Among them are several of both sexes, between the years of 10 and 17 years. If not shortly sold, I shall wish to hire them in Missouri Territory. I have also for sale a full-blooded stud-horse, a very large English bull, and several young ones. October 1, 1815. NINIAN EDWARDS."

Both the above advertisements demonstrate a fact of which Gov. Reynolds says nothing: that both he and Gov. Edwards were adherents of the "peculiar institution," and believers in the doctrine that property in a human being could be held by legal tenure; and that no inconsideration for the feelings of his fellow-creatures was a motor in Gov. Reynolds' entity the following advertisement will manifest:

[From the *Illinois Herald*, Kaskaskia, Ill., Dec. 16, 1815.]

"To the poor people of Illinois and Missouri Territory: To the above class of mankind whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of feeing a lawyer, I tender my professional services as a lawyer, in all courts I may practise in, without fee or reward. JOHN REYNOLDS."

The paradox of a man owning human beings and treating them as chattels, and defending the legal rights of poor free-persons *gratis*, was only one out of many antagonisms created by the ownership of slaves. These three advertisements, exhumed from old newspaper files, testify to the accession of fact gained by patient investigation.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (1887)

NEWS AND COMMENT

During the past summer several hundred thousand Illinois citizens were offered and took advantage of an unusual entertainment—the historical pageant, "Freedom on the March." This pageant, which depicted the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and the formation of the Northwest Territory, was a part of the general observance of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the Northwest Territory. Produced by a federal commission, "Freedom on the March" was made available in Illinois by the Illinois Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. In this state the pageant was first presented on May 26 at Danville, where the members of the cast were welcomed by Governor Horner. Thereafter performances were given daily until July 7, when the players left Illinois for a tour of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Returning to Illinois on August 27, the pageant was performed in several cities while the players were en route to Indiana.

Everywhere the performances were well attended, and in a number of cities, where local historical parades and exhibits were arranged, the crowds were huge. The pageant resulted in a first-rate educational experience for a considerable proportion of Illinois' seven million inhabitants.

Twenty-eight men have held the office of Governor of Illinois. The average of their abilities has been high, and several have been national figures, but as objects of popular praise or censure, none has ever approached John P. Altgeld. By pardoning the Haymarket anarchists who had not been executed, the mild-mannered, German-born Chicago judge who rose from a sickbed to take the oath of office on January 10, 1893, aroused a storm of vituperation seldom equaled in viciousness. But through it all he remained serene, and in the end posterity came to regard him as the great American which he was.

Eagle Forgotten,[1] by Harry Barnard, is Altgeld's biography. A big book, it slights no phase of its subject's career; based firmly on sound scholarship, it makes no concessions to the Ludwig or Strachey schools of biographical writing. Yet from the first to the last of its 436 pages the reader's interest never wavers. John P. Altgeld, scourged in life by the printed word, will cease to be the "Eagle Forgotten" partly because of the man he really was—and partly because of the fine honesty and skill with which Harry Barnard has written the story of his life.

Two recent publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Society possess more than ordinary interest for Illinois readers. *Norwegian Settlement in the United States*, by Carlton C. Qualey,[2] a concise, well-written treatment of its subject, contains an excellent chapter on the Norwegian settlement in LaSalle County, Illinois. This settlement, made in 1834, was the first permanent settlement of Norwegians in the United States, and the root from which a number of other Norwegian communities grew. *The Changing West*[3] will interest many because it is the work of the late Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois, whose career is described elsewhere in this issue. All except the title essay, which is reprinted from the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, are on various phases of Norwegian-American history.

Some La Salle Journeys, by Jean Delanglez, S. J.,[4] is the first publication in the series of Studies of the Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University. The book is a detailed, documented study of La Salle's early explorations and his Matagorda Bay expedition. The author adduces impressive evidence in contradiction of the claim of La Salle's protagonists that La Salle preceded Marquette and Jolliet in the discovery of the Ohio and the northern Mississippi.

[1] Bobbs-Merrill, $4.00.
[2] Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn., $3.00.
[3] Norwegian-American Historical Association, $2.50.
[4] Institute of Jesuit History, $2.50.

American Years,[5] by Harold Sinclair, is a novel on the borderline of history. Everton, easily identified as Bloomington, Illinois, is both the scene and the theme of the book. Episodes in the lives of Everton people, some fictional, some real—Jesse Fell, David Davis, Leonard Swett, and others— portray the development of the community from the first settlement to the outbreak of the Civil War. Lincoln and Douglas move in and out of the story. The author's knowledge of history is not as intimate as it might be, but despite a good many inexcusable departures from the facts, *American Years* presents a segment of social history with general fidelity.

Radically different from *American Years* is another Illinois book of fiction, *A Prairie Grove*,[6] by Donald Culross Peattie. Here the subjects are a grove in northern Illinois and the people who for nearly two centuries frequented it. In the seventeenth century came French priests and explorers who, although bearing different names, are drawn to resemble closely Marquette, La Salle and Tonti. Then the grove reverted to the Indians, sketched with rare understanding. In the nineteenth century came a family of pioneers from New England. These are the human subjects of *A Prairie Grove*, and equal with them in importance is the grove itself—its flowers and grasses and trees and animals, and the way it changed from season to season and with its successive inhabitants.

A Prairie Grove is convincing evidence of Mr. Peattie's skill as writer, naturalist and historian. In the latter capacity he exhibits thorough mastery of history's scaffold of facts together with sure insight into the motives and attitudes of its actors. *A Prairie Grove* is, therefore, that rare accomplishment—a piece of fictional history free from incongruities. It is also excellent literature.

Great Indian Chiefs,[7] by Albert Britt, is an attempt—and a successful one—to picture the great Indians of North America as human beings as well as figures in history. Eight chiefs, ranging in time

[5] Doubleday-Doran, $2.75.
[6] Simon and Schuster, $2.50.
[7] Whittlesey House, $2.50.

from King Philip of the Wampanoags to Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces, are portrayed. Included are two whose lives touched Illinois—Pontiac, who came to his tragic end at Cahokia in 1769, and Black Hawk, under whom the red men made their last stand in the state.

Albert Britt, the author, was formerly president of Knox College and one of the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Riverside is the title of a paper on the history of the Cook County village of that name which John M. Cameron read before the Riverside Historical Society on May 13, 1938, and which the author has since printed as a pamphlet. The story of Riverside's founding and growth is a complicated one, but Mr. Cameron tells it with precision and clarity. If the Riverside Historical Society had done nothing more than call forth this paper, it would have justified its existence and more.

A small volume entitled *Historical Development of Jasper County, Illinois*,[8] by Martha Robins, is another evidence of the increasing interest in the history of localities. Miss Robins divides the history of the county into three periods—from 1831 to 1870, from 1870 to 1890, and from 1890 to the present—and describes all phases of development in each period. Intended for reference purposes, the book contains numerous graphs and statistical tables.

The Oak Park Public Library, with the assistance of the Works Progress Administration, recently compiled and published (mimeographed) a comprehensive historical survey of Oak Park. In addition to narrative treatment of all phases of the village's development, the publication contains numerous tables and statistical compilations. Practically everything one may want to know about Oak Park, past or present, is to be found within its covers.

[8] Available from the author, Urbana, Ill., $1.00.

In July the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society brought out the eighth volume in its *Ohio Historical Collections* series —*Chief Justice Taft*, by Allen E. Ragan. As its title indicates, the book is a study of Taft as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court rather then a biography. The author is professor of history at Tusculum College, Greenville, Tennessee.

The Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, is now publishing its surveys of county archives at regular intervals. In recent months surveys of Pike, Cumberland, Scott and Clark counties have been issued.

The city of Chicago is taking steps to preserve its historic landmarks. Under a plan originated by the Chicago Woman's Club, the Society for Preservation of Art and Architecture in Chicago has been formed with Eugene Taylor, chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission as president, Carl Roden, librarian of the Chicago Public Library as vice-president, and Caroline McIlvaine, formerly librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, as secretary-treasurer. The purpose of the organization is to ascertain what landmarks and places should be preserved, and through public opinion to prevent their destruction. In England an organization of this kind has functioned successfully for more than fifty years.

The year 1939 will be the one-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Mormons at Nauvoo. This fact undoubtedly accounts for the present revival of interest in the old Mormon city. For some time a steady increase in the number of tourists has been evident there, and the centennial year is expected to bring thousands of visitors from Salt Lake City. A movement for the creation of a state park at Nauvoo has many enthusiastic adherents. At nearby Carthage the Mormon Church has undertaken the restoration of the old jail where Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed in 1844.

The entrance of the Lincoln family into Illinois is depicted in a monument placed at the west end of the Lincoln Memorial Bridge over the Wabash River and dedicated on June 14, 1938. The monument, which is the work of Nellie Walker of Chicago, is a bas relief showing the ox-drawn wagon of the Lincolns, members of the family, and, in bronze, Abraham Lincoln. The monument was presented to the State of Illinois by the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution. The area in which it is located has been beautifully landscaped and will be maintained as a state memorial.

On July 12, nearly eighty years after the hot day in August, 1858, when Abraham Lincoln walked off the gangplank of the *Sam Gaty* at Beardstown to commence his famous campaign against Douglas, the site where he spoke was marked by a bronze tablet. The marker was erected in the city park by the Beardstown Veterans of Foreign Wars. Its inscription reads: "Site of Abraham Lincoln Speech August 12, 1858. 'A House Divided Cannot Stand.' "

The third annual Lincoln Trail pilgrimage was held on June 12. More than two hundred persons, many from other parts of the state, assembled at the Lincoln Tomb in Springfield and followed the route traveled by Lincoln himself to Athens and New Salem, stopping at historic sites along the way. At New Salem State Park the address of the day was delivered by Oscar E. Carlstrom, Aledo.

The Southwestern Indiana Civic Association is offering a cash prize of $1,000 for the best play written about the Indiana years of Lincoln's life (1816-1830). The rules of the contest, which is open until January 1, 1939, may be secured from the Association's secretary, Ernest W. Owen, 242 E. 12th Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

On the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant—April 27, 1938—the Galena Chapter, Daughters

of the American Revolution, unveiled a bronze tablet on the leather store at Galena in which Grant worked prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. Harry C. Tear of Galena delivered the dedicatory address.

On May 16 members of the Asa Cottrell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, dedicated a tablet marking the site of the Ames Tavern a short distance west of Garden Prairie, Boone County. The tablet, furnished by the D. A. R., was placed on a large boulder by the Boone County Historical Society. Its inscription reads: "Ames Tavern. Used by early settlers as their trading post. Located on Galena-Chicago stage coach road crossed by the old Black Hawk Indian trail near here."

Graves of Lumas Hoyt and Aboin Pease, two veterans of the War of 1812, were marked with impressive ceremonies at Waverly Cemetery, Morgan County, on Sunday, May 8. The services were conducted by Mrs. Henry W. English of Jacksonville, honorary president, Francis Scott Key Chapter, United States Daughters of 1812.

The village of Elmira in Stark County celebrated its centennial with a two-day program, June 26-27. With a pageant, "Elmira Yesterday and Today," and with other programs dealing with the origin and growth of village institutions, the emphasis throughout the celebration was on things historical.

The Illinois State Historical Society held its thirty-ninth annual meeting at Bloomington and Normal on May 13 and 14, 1938. All sessions were well-attended, and the meeting was one of the most successful in the Society's history.

The meeting opened with a luncheon at which Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Executive Secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, spoke on the subject, "Abraham Lincoln in Bloomington." At the afternoon session, papers were presented as follows: "Joseph Medill and the Election of 1860," by Dr. Tracy Strevey of Northwestern University; "Mrs. Lincoln as a White House Hostess," by Miss

Virginia Kinnaird of Fort Wayne, Indiana; and "The End of the British Regime in the Old Northwest," by Dr. Nelson Vance Russell of the National Archives.

The Society's annual dinner, at which President James A. James presided, was the occasion for an address by Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College, President of the New York State Historical Association, and one of the best known historians in the United States. Taking the subject, "Must State History be Liquidated?" Doctor Fox spoke eloquently and humorously on behalf of the work in which local historical societies are engaged.

On Saturday, May 14, the Society met at the Illinois State Normal University in a session devoted to the teaching of Illinois history. A high school teacher's experience in this field was the contribution of Miss Louise A. Lange of the Bloomington High School; Dr. Richard L. Beyer of the Southern Illinois State Normal University spoke on behalf of the normal schools of the state; and the university viewpoint was presented by Dr. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois.

The meeting concluded with a luncheon tendered by Normal University, at which Doctor Fox spoke on the subject, "A Blueprint from American History," and with the annual business meeting. At the business meeting President James was re-elected, and Oliver R. Barrett of Kenilworth and James G. Randall of Urbana were elected to the board of directors in place of Cornelius J. Doyle and Laurence M. Larson, deceased.

The latest exhibit at the Chicago Historical Society is the Charles B. Pike collection of American city prints, the property of the Society's president. The collection, numbering 300 items, represents American cities from the early eighteenth century to the present time. Modern Chicago is depicted by a series of etchings. The prints naturally possess great historical value. "The exhibition is fascinating," commented Eleanor Jewett in the *Chicago Tribune;* "the more you see, really and truly, the more you want to see and the longer the time you want to devote to it. It is planned to keep the collection as a permanent installation at the Chicago Historical Society so everyone may have the fullest opportunity of enjoying it. This is a perfect way in which to learn American history."

The second annual meeting of the Englewood Historical Society (Chicago) was held at the Hiram Kelly Library on April 26. Speakers of the occasion were Carl B. Roden, librarian, Chicago Public Library; Harry Himmel, vice-president of the Englewood Historical Society; and Thomas Chittick. Old newspapers and photographs of nineteenth-century Englewood were on display at the Library.

Before the Civil War, and for years afterward, Englewood was simply a railroad junction and 63rd Street a muddy country road. In 1869 about one hundred families lived at the junction; by 1875 the population had increased to 3,000 and Englewood was a thriving village. In 1889 it was incorporated in the city of Chicago, but it still retains a regional identity.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society (Chicago) sponsored an old settlers' reunion at the Chicago Lawn Library on Sunday, May 1. Features of the reunion were showings of the Society's collection of slides of old-time scenes and persons, and a display of its picture collection of 400 Chicago Lawn views. The Chicago Lawn Historical Society, recently incorporated, has a rapidly increasing membership.

Charles Gunnarson was re-elected president of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) at a meeting at the South Shore branch of the Chicago Public Library on May 19. One hundred and thirty-five members and their friends heard talks on the following subjects: "Steel Mills," by John J. Blades; "Early Days and the Exposition Building at 79th Street and the Lake Front," by Mrs. Lida K. Brown; and "Water System and Cribs of Chicago," by Daniel O'Connor.

Spring activities of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) included a historical tour on May 22 along the Des Plaines River, and an essay contest in which pupils of a number of Chicago high schools participated. The prize, a silver trophy cup donated by Otto Eisenschiml, chairman of the board of the Society, was won by the pupils of Steinmetz High School.

The Woodlawn Historical Society (Chicago) took advantage of the showing of the photoplay, "In Old Chicago," to place a historical exhibit in one of the south side theaters during the last week in June. The exhibit included photographs of early Woodlawn, handbills and prints. Organized a year ago, the Woodlawn Historical Society has grown rapidly under the presidency of Mrs. E. J. Chladek.

The River Forest Historical Society, meeting on May 4, elected Dr. Henry F. Kallenberg president in place of Ralph Scarritt, resigned. The following other officers were chosen: honorary life president, Eli J. Brooks; vice-president, Mrs. B. W. Armstrong; secretary, Thomas A. Matthews; treasurer, Mrs. Blanche Willing; historian, Mrs. Thurlow McBride.

The Oak Park Historical Society held its spring meeting on May 12 at the south branch of the Oak Park Public Library. The meeting was the occasion for the presentation, by Seward M. Gunderson, of a collection of early Oak Park pictures, and an address by J. C. Miller on the Northwest Territory.

The annual meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society was held in the home of Charles M. Dennis, one of the first large houses built in Glencoe, on May 23. The following officers were elected: president, Oliver D. Mosser; vice-president, Mrs. F. W. Hill; secretary and custodian, Miss Helen Beckwith; treasurer, Ferdinand Hotz, Jr.

At a business meeting of the Augustana Historical Society held at Rock Island on June 7, Dr. Conrad J. Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, the Rev. J. Vincent Nordgren and Dr. O. F. Ander were elected to the board of directors. That evening the Augustana Historical Society met jointly with the Augustana Chapter of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Addresses were

made by Dr. Henry Goddard Leach of New York City, Prof. G. M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, and Dr. George H. Ryden of Newark, Delaware.

At the annual meeting of the Aurora Historical Society, held May 2, the following officers were elected: president, Frank C. Plain; vice-presidents, Marion R. Strossman and Charles Pierce Burton; secretary, Fannie Hopkins Peffers; treasurer, Ernest R. Downer. Announcement was made that during the summer the Society's museum would be moved from the public library to the Tanner Home, which was recently bequeathed to the Society.

The April meeting of the Boone County Historical Society was devoted to an examination of old Belvidere and Boone County newspapers. In its programs the Society is stressing the importance of every-day articles. "Commonplace articles may seem to be valueless today," states President Fred Marean, "but tomorrow finds them cherished possessions. The society plans to offer at various monthly meetings an opportunity to every member to exhibit articles of historic and curio nature."

The Bureau County Historical Society held its annual meeting at the courthouse in Princeton on June 6. Officers were elected as follows: president, Dan D. Russell; vice-president, Grace Bryant; secretary, T. A. Fenoglio; treasurer, F. S. Fowler. E. F. Norton, retiring president, summarized the year's accomplishments as a substantial increase in membership, the establishment of historical rooms in the courthouse, the staging of a Princeton centennial exhibit, and increasing recognition as an active organization. The secretary reported that the Society has a membership of 149, with two life members.

Carthage College was the scene of the annual meeting of the Hancock County Historical Society, held June 1. At the conclusion of the business session the audience adjourned to Biology Hall,

where two stone benches were dedicated. One of the benches is made from the doorstep of the old Sympson home in Carthage, where Lincoln was a guest during the campaign of 1858; the other is made from the top step of the entrance to the old Fort Edwards Hotel in Warsaw, scene of many social and political gatherings in its time.

The Galena Historical Museum Association held its first business meeting on June 18. The Association has leased one of the old residences, rent-free, from the city of Galena and is now engaged in reconditioning the property and collecting material to be displayed there. Plans call for a formal opening late in the summer.

In recent months the Livingston County Historical Society has made an active effort to increase its membership. The Society hopes to secure adequate space for its collection of documents and relics, and looks forward to the time when it will have permanent quarters. Dr. John H. Ryan, Chaplain of the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac, is president of the Society.

On June 23, at Decatur, the Macon County Historical Society, inactive for a number of years, was reorganized. A. W. Borchers was elected president and Miss Mabel E. Richmond was chosen as secretary-treasurer. Members of the Society made plans for the preservation of historical records of Decatur and Macon County, and voted to hold quarterly meetings in the Decatur Public Library.

The Madison County Historical Society held its annual mid-summer meeting on June 4 at the courthouse in Edwardsville. Addresses were made by W. L. Waters, Godfrey, president of the Society; J. Nick Perrin, Belleville; and Charles Elsperman, supervisor of the W.P.A. newspaper research project which the Society is sponsoring.

The Natal Day meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society was held in Jacksonville on April 26. Mrs. Fern Nance Pond, Petersburg, spoke on the subject, "Intellectual New Salem of Lincoln's Day."

Members of the Peoria Historical Society held an annual dinner meeting on May 25 at the Pere Marquette Hotel. The speaker of the occasion was Prof. John L. Conger of Knox College, whose address, "Chinking up the Cabin," was a plea for writing history "up from the ground," instead of "down from the sky." At the business session Howard A. Hunter was elected president to succeed Ernest E. East.

"Steamboat on the Mississippi" was the subject of an address by William J. Peterson of the State Historical Society of Iowa at a dinner meeting of the Quincy Historical Society on May 10. Eighty-five members and friends of the Society heard Professor Peterson's talk, which was illustrated with many pictures and maps of the river in the heyday of the steamboat.

The completion of the new museum at Black Hawk State Park has been the occasion for the revival of the Rock Island Historical Society. The first meeting of the Society in many years was held at the museum on April 21. John H. Hauberg described the planning and preparation of exhibits in the museum, of which he has had charge; Dr. F. M. Fryxell of Augustana College spoke on the museum policy of the National Park Service; and Roy A. Sears of the *Rock Island Argus* spoke on the state parks of Illinois. At a business session John H. Hauberg was elected chairman of a committee to nominate officers for the reorganized Society.

The Historical Association of St. Clair County met in Belleville on June 23, with twelve of its eighteen members in attendance. The following officers were elected: J. Nick Perrin, president; Dr. G. G. Bock, vice-president; E. W. Plegge, secretary; and Charles P. Hamill, treasurer.

The Cahokia Historical and Memorial Society is the name of an organization recently formed in St. Clair County. The Society's principal purpose is the complete restoration of the village of Cahokia, perhaps the oldest settlement in Illinois (1699). Plans are being made for an appropriate celebration in the ancient village when the restoration of the Cahokia courthouse, which the State of Illinois has undertaken, is completed.

The organization of the Stark County Historical Association was completed in several meetings held during the spring. The Association has established three classes of memberships: honorary (conferred by the board of directors), life (fee of $10), and annual (dues of fifty cents). Officers of the Association are: president, H. W. Walker; vice-president, Mrs. E. P. Reeder; secretary, Miss Annie Lowman; treasurer, Miss Claire McKenzie.

The directors of the recently organized Warren County Historical Society have made plans for an active organization. One committee has undertaken to build up a sizable membership (dues are $1.00 per year); another will collect articles and documents of historical importance; a third has assumed the responsibility of seeing that the county's old cemeteries are well cared for. Plans also call for a series of meetings at which historical talks will be made.

The Chicago Law Institute, 1025 County Bldg., Chicago, wishes to obtain a copy of the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1918, and a copy of Vol. IV of the *Illinois Historical Collections* (Greene & Alvord, *Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834*). Any member of this Society willing to dispose of copies of these publications should communicate with William S. Johnston at the above address.

CONTRIBUTORS

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THE ROLE OF CHICAGO CZECHS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CZECHOSLOVAK INDEPENDENCE

BY JOSEPH JAHELKA

THE principle of the French Revolution, *Fraternité* (translated as "Brotherhood" or "Nationality"), was a strong ingredient of European history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its effects were as strongly felt in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia as elsewhere on the Continent and they became a constant in, and a common denominator of, all Czech and Slovak activity. Under their stimulation and auspices the Czech literary revival from 1815 to 1848 had started. They were responsible for the Revolution of 1848. From 1860 onward they formulated a policy of political and diplomatic progress which after futile efforts to establish an autonomous Bohemia and Slovakia within a federalized Austria-Hungary turned to the Western Powers for aid, culminating in the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

The nationalistic clamor of the Czechs and Slovaks in Austria-Hungary reverberated in all parts of the world where these two nationalities settled in colonies or groups of immigrants. Invariably the Czechs in America were passionately interested in the destiny and future of the homeland. Many of them were political

refugees driven out of Bohemia by the ever-vigilant police. Those who migrated for economic reasons too were cognizant of the struggle which Bohemia was waging for the maintenance of its own individuality in the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire. This Czech national spirit permeated and almost dominated everything that was undertaken by the Bohemian immigrants.

It was inevitable that such factors as common training, common political spirit, and similar economic conditions should bind the Czechs and Slovaks closely together in the cities and the countryside of the New World. The most outstanding example of this racial cohesiveness was, and to some degree is yet, found in Chicago. In their life, ways of thought, and social and economic activities, the Czech settlements of this great metropolis early became replicas in miniature of the old country.

The fundamental social units of Czech and Slovak life and consciousness were lodges, societies, associations and clubs. The reasons for these organizations were several. In the first place, they served as preservers of those qualities and racial traits which the Czechs and Slovaks held dear. Moreover, these organizations were also an insurance against economic weakness of the newcomers, preventing their utter destitution in time of need or sickness or helping them to acquire loans for the establishment of their homes.[1]

The Czech organizations constituted a stimulus and background for the cultural and artistic life. The na-

[1] Dr. J. E. S. Vojan dates the establishment of the first fraternal and social organization as 1861. Vojan, *Zacatky Ceskeho Chicaga* ("Beginnings of Czech Chicago"), (Chicago, 1925), 18. The most active of all social organizations, however, was the Sokol ("Gymnastic Society") whose nationalistic consciousness was very highly developed.

tional consciousness which they kept alive also gave rise to the publication of several dailies and periodicals. The cultural life was represented in art clubs, singing societies, a permanent theatrical stock company of rather high standing, occasional performances of Bohemian opera by local talent and of Czech Saturday and Sunday schools. Journalism attained a surprising development. The beginning of Czech daily newspapers began as early as the sixties; development in the succeeding years led to the publication of such widely read Bohemian papers, published in Chicago, as *Denni Hlasatel* ("Daily Herald"), *Svornost* ("Concord"), and *Narod* ("Nation").

An added occasional stimulus to the social life of the Chicago Czechs was afforded through the frequent visits of prominent intellectuals from the old country. Such men as Dr. Scheiner, prominent Sokol leader, Dr. Karel Veleminsky, professor at Prague University, Gustav Haberman, Vaclav Klofac, and Vojta Benes—all political leaders—helped to preserve and renew Czech consciousness. The greatest influence of all these representatives was exerted by the Czech philosopher, Thomas G. Masaryk. In 1902 he delivered a series of lectures at the University of Chicago on the Czech life and culture. During his second visit to the United States, in 1907, Masaryk made a tour of the Czech and Slovak settlements, studying their living conditions, criticizing, advising, and encouraging everywhere. Masaryk's visits to America were of great importance, for his name became known not only to the Czechs and Slovaks living in this country but also to leading American scholars. This latter circumstance was of great value to the Czechoslovak cause, especially during the World War

when Masaryk again came to America to ask for the recognition of the Czechoslovak State by President Wilson.

In brief, Czech and Slovak life before 1914 was pulsating with vigor and national consciousness. The Czechs, who of necessity had been forced to live together in their colonies in metropolitan Chicago, preserved their racial traits, customs, and heritage fairly well. They were well-posted on current affairs transpiring in the homeland, and could in the light of their knowledge of Czech history evaluate the importance and quality of contemporary political and economic life in Bohemia. After Prague, Chicago was the largest Bohemian city in the world, but more than Prague it enjoyed freedom of thought and action. These two qualities were to stand it in good stead when the great crisis of the World War arrived.

The opening of the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the summer of 1914 immediately became of great interest to the Chicago Czechs. It was only natural that their Slavonic feeling should fire in them a clear-cut sympathy towards Serbia and a well-defined indignation towards Austria. The news of Austria's "Ultimatum" to Serbia became a subject of great discussion in the Czech circles of Chicago. According to Vojta Benes:

> The coffeehouses and restaurants were packed with people, the streets crowded with excited groups. Men looked for one another to relieve their anger and to strengthen their hope that the march of war will not crush justice and righteousness.[2]

It was soon evident that the Chicago Czechs would

[2] Vojta Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika v Odboji* ("Czechoslovak America in the Revolution"), (Prague, 1931), 66; quotation translated from Czech by the author.

take some kind of action. On July 28, 1914 a great mass meeting was held at a picnic grove known as Pilsen Park. The organizers of this meeting were a group of Czech journalists and Sokol leaders, who as friends met regularly in a little Czech restaurant at 26th Street and Trumbull Avenue, and who on July 26 conceived the plan of staging a protest in favor of Serbia. Of the group present on July 26, Vojta Benes names the following: Josef Tvrzicky, F. L. Musil, Karel Vinklarek, Josef Mach, J. V. Nigrin, for the newspapers; Vincenc Sedlak, Frantisek Sustek, for the Sokol; J. Sala, for the Moravian Slovaks, and a Mr. Votava.[3] With the help of the Czech-American Office of the Press,[4] a committee met on July 27, 1914 for the purpose of planning the meeting. At this meeting, for the first time, the possibility of Czech independence was emphasized by one of its members, J. V. Nigrin:

> Mr. Nigrin already at this meeting declared that the war may lead to the defeat and possible dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and in that case the Czechs in foreign countries should take the opportunity for political action, leading to the liberation of old homelands from foreign domination.[5]

The mass meeting on the evening of July 28, 1914 at Pilsen Park was an exciting affair. Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, and Croatians met there to protest against Austria-Hungary. Stirring speeches were made, and support to Serbia was pledged by the representatives of all nations present. This meeting became memorable for an inter-

[3] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 74.

[4] Czech-American Office of the Press was a voluntary organization for the purpose of informing the American public and the Czechs in America of events in Bohemia.

[5] "Jak promluvilo srdce Ceske Ameriky v roce 1914" ("Voice of the Heart of Czech America in 1914"), *Zlata Kniha Ceskoslovenskeho Chicaga* ("Golden Book of Czechoslovak Chicago"), edited by Jaromir Psenka (Chicago, 1925), 41; quotation translated by the author.

esting incident. Someone in the excited crowd spotted what he thought to be the Austrian emblem hanging on one of the walls of the hall. With the shout, "Down with the Austrian eagle," the emblem was pulled down and trampled on by the feet of the angry crowd. It is extremely doubtful, however, that the emblem so desecrated was really that of Austria-Hungary. In describing this incident, Vojta Benes later spoke about the "Imperial Eagle," meaning the Austrian emblem;[6] Charles Pergler did likewise, referring to "the Austrian eagles."[7] However, John A. Cervenka, the present president of the Bohemian National Alliance and at that time one of the members of the committee arranging the mass meeting of July 28, has stated to the author that what the excited crowd trampled upon was not the Austrian double-headed eagle, but either the Serbian or Moravian escutcheon (both countries having an eagle in their emblem), which the spirited crowd mistook for the Austrian eagle. It is probable that the leaders of the meeting recognized the error of the crowd, but said nothing of it mainly because it was this incident that tended to stimulate Slavonic feeling among the Slavs of America, and also because it showed to the American people the true attitude of the Czechs and Slovaks toward the Austrian government.

The meeting itself, as it was said before, was a protest against the action of Austria-Hungary toward Serbia. Slavonic feeling ran high, and financial and moral support was promised to the "Little Slav Brother." It was at this meeting that the Czechoslovak Red Cross,

[6] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 68.

[7] Charles Pergler, "They too, have labored," *Czechoslovak Review*, Vol. III, no. 2 (Feb., 1919), 31.

later known as the Czechoslovak Relief Association, was founded. The purpose of this body was to collect funds and supplies for the wounded and disabled Slav soldiers, especially the Serbians. Chicago Czechs were determined to help the Serbian nation against the Austrian aggression, but that they could in some way help their own countrymen in Europe was not yet clear to them at this time. Of the Chicago Czechs only one man seemed to grasp the significance of the starting conflict as an opportune time to help the Czechs in Europe to liberate themselves from Austrian rule. This man was Josef Tvrzicky, one of the organizers of the famous mass meeting and who later became the moving spirit of the Czech activity in America. Making a speech at the mass meeting, Tvrzicky was said to be "the first man to suggest that help be given to the Czechs fighting a political battle in Austria-Hungary."[8]

As a whole all thoughts of the Chicago Czechs at this time were centered around Serbia and Russia. They saw the Serbian nation in the grasp of the ruthless conqueror and looked anxiously to powerful Russia for salvation. They seemed, however, to grasp the notion that a great struggle for the domination of Europe between the German and the Slav was about to start. The weight of Russia, they believed, would decide the fight for the Slavs and they were willing to do anything to help this victory. Czech nationalism, in the first days of the war, was overshadowed by a reawakening of a strong Slavonic feeling which bred the desire that Austria would be defeated and humiliated by Serbia.

How strongly this desire for the defeat of Austria-

[8] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 70.

Hungary was felt among the Chicago Czechs is clearly shown by the fact that on July 29, 1914, one day after the mass meeting in Pilsen Park, one of Chicago's Czech newspapers published the following statement: "We hope that Austria-Hungary will emerge from this whole affair shattered and damaged." The hope for a better existence for the small oppressed nations was expressed in the following statement: "And it is desirable that this dilapidated structure would make room for a more healthy formation which would be not only more logical politically, but also more just socially."[9] But despite the hatred of Austria-Hungary and the desire for its defeat and humiliation, the mass of Chicago Czechs did not, at this time, think seriously of the possibility of liberation of their Czech kinsmen in Europe from the Austrian yoke. That they themselves could in some way play an important part in helping their brothers in Europe to win independence was for them, at this time, unthinkable.

There were, nevertheless, some individuals in Chicago who saw in the opening of the war an excellent opportunity for the Czechs in Europe to regain their freedom. Of these the most prominent were Jaroslav V. Nigrin, who has already been mentioned as a member of the committee arranging the mass meeting at Pilsen Park and who hinted at the possibility of dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and Josef Tvrzicky. The latter was the first to appeal for help to the Czechs in Europe, in a speech made at the mass meeting on July 28, 1914. But Jaroslav V. Nigrin, unfortunately, soon gave up his idea of Czech independence, perhaps because he saw powerful

[9] *Denni Hlasatel* ("Daily Herald"), July 29, 1914; quotation translated by the author.

Germany at the side of Austria. Vojta Benes later summarized Nigrin's change of attitude by saying:

> Nigrin became strongly influenced by the enemy's early successes on the battlefield and failed to grasp the development of the spiritual forces that submerged by the roar of cannons, struggled quietly in the souls of nations to form history. It was not given him to perceive them.[10]

It was the idea of Josef Tvrzicky that finally awoke the Czechs of Chicago to concerted action. Tvrzicky in his early student days in Bohemia had been a stormy petrel. With the Czech statesmen of his day, especially Masaryk and Kramar, he demanded more rights for Bohemia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the University of Prague he established the Czech Student Association, an intellectual and political society, and later satisfied his Panslavistic ideals by organizing the Association of Slavonic Students. In 1911 things became too hot for him in Bohemia and in order to escape arrest he fled to America, settling finally in Chicago. Here he became active in the forum and in journalism.[11]

The war situation struck Tvrzicky's revolutionary palate quite appetizingly. He at once saw an excellent opportunity for Bohemia to regain its freedom. He realized that the Czechs of America must not stop merely at showing sympathy to Serbia, but must rather take an active part in the Czech question. He seemed to grasp the significance of the opportune time of the war in which not only the fate of Serbia, but that of Bohemia and Slovakia would be determined. Tvrzicky believed that the Czech revolution against Austria-Hungary would be of greater help to little Serbia than any material

[10] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 129; quotation translated by the author.

[11] The life of Josef Tvrzicky is based here on the information supplied by his brother, John Tvrzicky, now living in Chicago.

or moral support. For this reason he believed that the Czechoslovak Red Cross, founded as a result of the mass meeting of July 28, 1914 to give support to Serbia, was not capable of coping with the problem of Czech independence and therefore conceived an idea to establish a revolutionary organization which would take up the struggle for Czechoslovak independence and which would in this struggle represent the Czech branch in America.

To the urging of Tvrzicky, the secretary of the National Council,[12] J. R. Psenka, issued a proclamation on August 25, 1914, which read:

To all members and friends of action on behalf of the independence of Czech lands!

The developments of present time are so serious that we venture to say that the very life of our Czech nation is at stake. We firmly believe that the oppressors of our people will be vanquished and that relief, for which our nation waited nearly 300 years will come. The tyranny of Germany and Austria will end; it must end!

But regardless of the shaping of the conditions one thing is certain and that is, that above everything else, the nation will need material and moral support which only the branch of American Czechs will be able to give.

It is for this reason that the National Council is calling a meeting for Friday evening at Vojta Naprstek school, 26th street and Homan avenue. The discussion will center around these points:

1. How to help our homeland *Materially*.
2. What to do in the interest of Czech autonomy and independence.
3. Open suggestions, pertaining to the Czech question and the present time.[13]

The proclamation gathered the following prominent Chicago Czechs at the meeting:

Josef Tvrzicky, Jaroslav V. Nigrin, Stanislav Vraz, J. Dibelka,

[12] The National Council was a voluntary organization whose functions covered the political and national activity of the Czechs in Chicago.

[13] *Zlata Kniha Ceskoslovenskeho Chicaga*, 45-46; quotation translated by the author.

Mrs. Stankova-Bujarkova, Reverend Vanek, Reverend V. Kralicek, Dr. Ludvik Fisher, Dr. Rudis-Jicinsky, Jaromir Psenka, Josef Cermak, A. Horacek, Karel Vinklarek, Josef Nosek, Vojtech Brazda, J. V. Votata, Judge Langer, Jaroslav J. Zmrhal, and J. Zeman.[14]

After a short discussion, those assembled agreed that some action should be taken for the benefit of the brother Czechs in Europe, and that a strong organization would be needed for such an action. This led to the foundation of the Bohemian National Alliance, an organization which had its birth on September 2, 1914. Its officials were: Dr. Ludvik Fisher, president; Jaroslav J. Zmrhal, English secretary; Karel Vinklarek, Czech secretary, and Jaroslav F. Stepina, treasurer.

The new body met on September 11, 1914, for the purpose of forming a clear-cut program of its activity. The nature of this program is revealed by the Chicago Czech daily, *Svornost*, which gave an account of the meeting on the following day:

> In the first place, it is important that not only America but the whole world should be informed about the Czech question and about the political, cultural, and economic significance of our nation.

How this would be done, *Svornost* declared in the same article:

> This information will be carried out through various articles published in English newspapers and magazines, by public lectures, and by a contact of influential people not only in America but in other countries as well.[15]

Since its success depended primarily on an ample supply of funds the Bohemian National Alliance at once

[14] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 148.

[15] *Svornost* ("Concord"), Sept. 12, 1914; quotation translated by the author.

started a vigorous campaign for the collection of money. It voiced its appeal to every Czech-American in every part of the United States, regardless of religious belief and affiliation. It called, in short, to the masses, the rank and file of American Czechs, and even went so far as to stipulate the method in which money was to be given:

The way in which every individual can help the Czech Cause!

(1) By a personal donation; one per cent of one's annual income would be a little sacrifice. But even less is welcome, such as a self imposed head tax of $1 on every member of the family.
(2) Write for a subscription blank to the Bohemian National Alliance (3639 W. 26th St., Chicago, Ill.) and on it record your head tax. Then ask all your friends and relatives to donate. When the blank is filled, return it and write for a new one.
(3) From the circle of your friends select other persons who are willing to collect donations.
(4) If there are in your neighborhood even 8 or 10 Czechs who each contributed at least $1, call them to a friendly meeting. By their donation they became members of the Bohemian National Alliance and can by electing proper officials (president, secretary, treasurer) establish a branch of the Alliance.[16]

That the Alliance appealed to the masses rather than to the small class of wealthy Czechs was due to two obvious reasons. First, Czech workingmen showed a keener interest in helping their kinsmen in Europe than did their well-to-do brothers, and consequently contributed more readily in money and support. The wealthier Czechs in America lagged far behind the workingmen in enthusiasm and rather decried the Alliance and its leaders as impractical dreamers. The principal support, both financial and moral, came from the workingmen in the cities, and the farmers of the Middle

[16] Vojta Benes, *Jak Zije a Trpi Nase Domovina* ("Life and Suffering of our Homeland"), (Chicago, 1916), 95-96; quotation translated by the author.

West and Southwest. In the second place, it was necessary to arouse the masses of Czechoslovak immigrants to the importance of a strong revolutionary manifestation against Austria-Hungary at the opportune moment.

These first ventures of the Alliance were marked with tremendous success. Numerous small branches of the organization were established all over the United States. Organizers, agitators, and speakers undertook extensive tours throughout the country, conducting meetings in every Czech settlement and addressing thousands.[17] So efficient was this undertaking that at the end of 1918 more than three hundred and fifty branches of the organization were established, each of them a center for raising funds and a nucleus of patriotic sentiment.

The part played by the Alliance in the results which were ultimately secured by the concerted action of the Bohemians is inestimable. It intensified the cohesiveness of the Czechs scattered throughout the country and gave their national and revolutionary efforts a unity and a more or less direct course of action. It drew them out of the first slump of helplessness into which they were thrown by the suddenness of the war. It finally united them as to groups, bringing the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Free Thinkers or Liberals into a solid bond.

Though it functioned quite effectively from the very beginning, the Alliance had certain obstacles to overcome, which grew out of an enthusiasm for the cause it represented rather than any spirit of opposition. The strongest hindrance to its effective action developed

[17] One of the most active organizers was Vojta Benes who came to America from Bohemia in 1915. An interesting account of his work during the summer of 1917 is found in his article, "Travels of the Organiser," *Poselstvi* ("Message"), Vol. I, no. 1 (Oct., 1917), 5-6.

from the fact that all large American cities with prominent Czech population decided to carry on a virile action as units of the Alliance but soon assumed quite an independent spirit of action. The leaders of the movement in Chicago worked intensively to bring such cities as New York, Omaha, Cedar Rapids, Cleveland and Detroit into the scheme of their activity. One of the most ardent advocates of unified action was Dr. J. E. S. Vojan, who in 1915 became secretary of the Chicago Alliance. Of his work in this direction Dr. Vojan tells us:

> The one idea with which I was wholly concerned at this time was: concentration of the entire Czech strength and the establishment of a central organization. Up to now, all our energy was being wasted in a number of misunderstandings brought about by high local patriotism. Unified action was absolutely necessary if the Liberation Movement was to assume great proportions To unite the various Czech settlements was a difficult task. However, my work towards achieving this goal was made somewhat easier by the fact that I was known nearly in all Czech settlements as a speaker and journalist and had many friends everywhere. After weeks of intensive work, the Chicago Alliance succeeded in calling a conference of representatives of the various units in Cleveland on March 13-14, 1915.[18]

At the Cleveland conference the name, Bohemian National Alliance, was agreed upon as the designation for the entire movement of the American Czechs.

The unit in Chicago was selected to act as the central body and its orders and suggestions were to be considered supreme. The selection of the Chicago Alliance as a central body was very fortunate, for as has already been shown, Chicago possessed a number of brilliant, aggressive, and politically matured men capable of di-

[18] Jaroslav E. S. Vojan, "Pred Deseti Lety" ("Ten Years Ago"), *Kalendar New Yorskych Listu Na Rok 1925* ("Almanac of New York Leaves for the Year of 1925"), 98; quotation translated by the author.

recting any important campaign.

The patriotic and revolutionary activity of the National Alliance was extended in several directions. The first, already mentioned, was the collection of funds necessary to help relief work in Bohemia and to foster and promote any sort of movement which might eventually spell greater autonomy or independence for Bohemia. Secondly, it acted as an agent and dispenser of such revolutionary propaganda as might reach it from the already formed committee for Bohemian and Slovakian independence in France and Russia. In the third place, the Alliance was to function as a diplomatic agent in the western hemisphere, particularly the United States and Canada. To these countries it was to translate the hopes and yearnings of the Czech people and induce the two of them to act on behalf of Bohemia in international diplomacy and politics. Finally, the Alliance became a recruiting station for the Czech American soldiers who volunteered to fight in France.

In its function as the agent and dispenser of such revolutionary propaganda as might reach it from abroad the Alliance entered into direct contact with the official representative and agent of the Czech people—Thomas G. Masaryk. In the crisis of 1914 Masaryk estimated the situation more correctly than any Czech statesman. He saw clearly that the fate of Bohemia hung in the balance and that it would be necessary for every Czech to work assiduously in the cause of the state. He escaped from Austria-Hungary in December, 1914, to begin, primarily in the West, his fight for national redemption. It soon became evident that a revolutionary movement of this nature needed above all a definite central authority. Consequently Masaryk organized the Na-

tional Council and promulgated a public declaration of hostility to Austria-Hungary in Paris, France, on November 14, 1915. In February, 1916, the National Council was transformed into the National Council of Czech Countries with Thomas G. Masaryk as president, Josef Durich and Milan Stefanik as vice-presidents, and Eduard Benes as secretary-general.

To the American Czechs the first news of Masaryk's intentions came indirectly from Emanuel Voska of New York, who in August, 1914, met the future president of Czechoslovakia in Prague; after a conference with him Voska was assured that Masaryk was ready to fight Austria-Hungary for the ultimate liberation of the country. Voska, upon reaching America, later reported on what he heard at Prague and outlined Masaryk's plans to several groups of influential Bohemian-Americans. That he also imparted his information to the Czechs in Chicago and that his statements made a definite impression in this center of revolutionary agitation is clear from the references which Benes made to him. In one instance he said: "His visits to the office of the Czech newspapers in Chicago, Omaha and the West undoubtedly performed good work."[19]

The first official contact of Masaryk with the Alliance occurred in June, 1915. His letter of June 10 repeated much of the information already imparted by Mr. Voska. Masaryk promised more definite reports on revolutionary activity after the final establishment of the Czech Revolutionary Committee in Paris. He traced in detail the conditions of martial law then existing in Bohemia and warned the Alliance against the disrup-

[19] Benes, *Ceskoslovenska Amerika*, 162.

tive forces with which he met in Paris on the part of certain Czech Russophiles who were urging an exclusive co-operation with Russia rather than with the western powers.[20]

Masaryk's letter, which ended with a strong appeal for funds, cleared up several things. It assured the Bohemian National Alliance and all its many benefactors in America that their procedure was correct.[21] In the second place, it warned against a notorious Russophile, Horsky-Konicek, who in the latter part of 1915 came to America and attempted, unsuccessfully, to switch the American Liberation Movement from co-operation with the democratic western powers to action with autocratic Russia.[22] In the third place, it convinced many of the Czechs in America that the national cause of Bohemia had a competent leader in a man who was known to them as a fighter in the Austrian Parliament since 1907.[23]

At the beginning of 1916, the Alliance received definite information of the procedure of the Czech Revolu-

[20] Thomas G. Masaryk to Bohemian National Alliance, June 10, 1915 (MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance).

[21] Josef Tvrzicky and others associated with him had long been trying to discover the trend which revolutionary activity abroad was taking. The task apparently was hard, for the formation of a central revolutionary committee of the Czechs was carried on in secret and those who knew about it refused to give any information. Josef Tvrzicky to Thomas G. Masaryk, Nov. 13, 1915 (MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance).

[22] Horsky-Konicek was a representative of the Czech Council in Russia, a body founded by Josef Durich and Russian Tzarist circles to oppose Masaryk's National Council in Paris. Supported by the Russian autocrats, the Czech Council in Russia soon gained prominence not only in Russia but also in France and England. To assume any great importance in the Liberation Movement, however, it needed the important money support of the Czechs in America. Horsky-Konicek, therefore, came to America to alienate the American Czechs and Slovaks from Masaryk and the National Council. Although he succeeded in gaining many adherents in America, especially among the Slovaks, Horsky-Konicek failed to get the desired financial support. This was mainly due to the firm stand taken by the Chicago Czechs, especially the Secretary of the Alliance, Josef Tvrzicky, who remained loyal to Masaryk. Tvrzicyk to Masaryk, June 15, 1915.

[23] Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State* (New York, 1927), *passim*.

tionary Movement abroad. By that time the National Council of Czech Countries had been founded in Paris,[24] and several important periodicals were being published in Czech, English, and French to disseminate information. The appeals for funds, first voiced by Masaryk, were growing stronger. In his first official report to the Alliance, Eduard Benes, the Secretary of the National Council, was able to assure the Czechs in America of the ultimate victory of the cause, but only when the Alliance would collect and send funds diligently. On the revolutionary activity of the National Council he wrote:

> All of this requires an immense amount of work, tremendous energy, and much money. When the time for peace making arrives we will need more funds than at present—perhaps three or four times as much. Please do not forget our needs. In my future reports to you I will explain how we must work to secure the newspapers, French and English, to our side.[25]

By these contacts the Alliance was spiritually strengthened and grew in willingness to perform much of the propagandist activity which was necessary for the success of the revolutionary work in America. As stated above, efforts for the national cause met with frequent obstacles. There were Czechs who assumed the policy of "hands off"—in imitation of the neutrality spirit which the United States maintained in the first years of the war. Though nationalistically minded, those who entertained these scruples remained lukewarm materially and spiritually. Their contributions were paltry, and their indifference cooled much of the ardor of those who at first were sold to the idea of the

[24] See *ante.*, 396.

[25] Eduard Benes to Bohemian National Alliance, May 14, 1916 (MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance); quotation translated by the author.

upheaval. Another group of quasi-defeatists consisted of those who remembered the efficiency of the German and Austrian armies. These believed in the victory of the Central Powers and feared that any activity for Czech independence would make things difficult in Bohemia when the war was over.[26] There was finally a group of Czechs, numerically small but intellectually quite capable, which distinctly sympathized with the Austro-German cause. These were led by Frank Iska, chief of the Free Thinkers in Chicago. Iska, who was in the pay of the Austrian authorities, attacked the Alliance and the entire movement journalistically and in the forum. He argued against independence on economic lines and sought to undermine popular confidence in the leaders.[27]

The year 1915 and a part of 1916 were troubled times for the Alliance as far as the effect of the unfavorable forces on the Revolutionary Movement was concerned. Yet progress was not lacking. The expectations of the National Council in Paris on the matter of funds were successfully carried out.[28] The Alliance gradually gained prominence and respect so that by the end of 1916 it received the full co-operation of the Czech societies, athletic clubs, and workingmen's groups. In America it enrolled, through this union with various organizations, more than one hundred thousand direct members

[26] See Vojta Benes, "What we have Accomplished," *Czechoslovak Review*, Vol. III, no. 3 (March, 1919), 52-53.

[27] Iska's activity is clearly outlined in a polemic carried on during the year 1916. See *V Boj* ("Into Battle"), March 4, 14, 25, April 15, May 11, 26, June 9, 30, 1916.

[28] The amount of money contributed by the American Czechoslovaks for the liberation of Czechoslovakia is not known. Various estimates have been made up to this time but no definite statement has been issued by the Bohemian National Alliance. The eminent Czech historian, Josef Pekar, estimated that the American Czechoslovaks contributed about three million for the independence movement. Pekar, *Dejiny Ceskoslovenske* ("History of Czechoslovakia"), (Prague, 1923), 180.

and almost that many indirect ones.[29] Its scattered branches became centers of zealous propaganda, fighting wherever they could all unfavorable reports concerning the Czechs of Bohemia, and exposing the decrepit state of Austria-Hungary.

By 1917 the Slovaks of America had fully subscribed to the Alliance, and the Catholic camp began to organize itself in its fold. Many prominent Czechs and Slovaks with influence that reached all over the country were enrolled.[30] Thousands of pamphlets and broadsides were scattered all over the land and every sort of activity which might inform the American public about the aims and accomplishments of the Czechs and Slovaks was undertaken. As a whole, the Czech and Slovak press in Chicago and in the United States supported the revolutionary action splendidly. More than a hundred Czech periodicals in America wrote daily, exhorting, stimulating, and informing their readers.[31]

The American entry into the World War in April, 1917, greatly stimulated the activity of the Alliance and enlarged the scope of its efforts. American support of the Allied cause naturally worked to the great advantage of the Czechs and Slovaks diplomatically and from the military point of view.

The diplomatic activity was, of course, started on a small scale from the very beginning of the war, when

[29] Benes, *Czechoslovak Review*, March, 1919, pp. 52-58.

[30] Among some of the most prominent were: Anton J. Cermak, late mayor of Chicago; Dr. Alex Hrdlicka, of the Smithsonian Institute; Jaroslav J. Zmrhal, principal of Herzel High School in Chicago; Prof. Sarka-Hrbkova of the University of Nebraska; Otto Kerner, now U. S. circuit court judge; Thomas Capek, banker and lawyer of New York; R. J. Kerner of the University of California; Prof. J. Simek of the University of Iowa; A. J. Sabath, congressional representative; Rev. Oldrich Zlamal of Cleveland; Josef Cermak, teacher and Sokol leader of Chicago.

[31] In Chicago alone the circulation of the Czech daily newspapers reached some seventy-five thousand.

the Czechs essayed upon informing the American world about the true facts of the Bohemian cause. It was necessary to show, for example, that what was known as "hyphenism" did not hold for the American Czechs and Slovaks. In a memorandum to the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, the Czechs and Slovaks declared that they owed their allegiance first of all to America and that they were simply citizens of Bohemian origin.[32] In an open letter to Jane Addams and the American pacifists in general, they pointed out that the pacifist attitude would ultimately lead to a destruction of smaller nationalities in the confines of Austria-Hungary and Germany. In the presidential campaign of 1916 the Alliance demanded of the American Czechoslovaks to go to the polls simply as Americans and nothing else, with the welfare of America in mind and without being influenced by any other considerations.[33]

It is not an exaggeration to say that during 1917 and 1918 in no other country did the Czech and Slovak campaign of information reach the proportions it did in the United States. There was hardly a gathering of impor-

[32] CHICAGO, ILL., August 25, 1915.

Hon. Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:

The enclosed pamphlet sets out the attitude of men and women of Bohemian birth and descent towards some of the problems forced upon the United States by the present war.

We sympathize deeply with the people of Bohemia who are compelled to shed their blood for a cause which they consider unjust and against their own interest as a Slavic race. And we trust that the result of the war will bring them their independence. But we feel that we are first of all citizens of the United States, and as such we endorse fully the wise, firm, and patriotic course of the President.

We are, Sir, yours most respectfully,
Bohemian National Alliance of America.
JOSEF TVRZICKY,
Secretary.

(MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance).

[33] See proclamation in the English Section, *V Boj*, Oct. 14, 1916, p. 174.

tance at which the Bohemian cause for independence was not presented. Such important meetings as the Congress of Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities in Washington in January, 1917, the annual meetings of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences, the Long Beach Conference of Foreign Relations, and others stand as illustrations of this point.

Every Czech intellectual was mustered for the work. Among these leaders stood forth such men as Jaroslav J. Zmrhal, Thomas Capek, J. Simek, Jaroslav Stepina, F. L. Musil, Jaroslav E. S. Vojan, Jaroslav Smetanka, Charles Pergler and others. Through Pergler's activity as a speaker and propagator, the cause reached the highest authorities in the country. In a letter dated December 21, 1917, he mentioned his visits to the various officials of the State Department in Washington and mentioned several important speaking engagements which he had for December and January.[34] Pergler was only one of the many who advanced the interests of the Czech question in America. Such work was necessary and its effort was perhaps best appreciated by Thomas G. Masaryk who wrote: "Our American colonies contributed politically as well as financially to our conquest of freedom—politically, perhaps, even more than financially."[35]

The attention of our national authorities was furthermore attracted by the Alliance and the Czechoslovaks on several occasions. In May, 1917, the Alliance, together with the Slovaks, presented to President Wilson through the intermediary of Colonel House, a memo-

[34] Charles Pergler to Ludvik Fisher, Dec. 21, 1916 (MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance).

[35] Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, 224.

randum setting forth Czech and Slovak aspirations. In February, 1918, a further memorandum put the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on its guard against Austrian promises of Czech national autonomy. On May 25, 1917, William S. Kenyon, a senator from Iowa and a friend of the Alliance, presented a resolution demanding the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks as a condition of peace. A year later, on May 31, 1918, Senator King of Utah put forward and stressed the same demand.

At the end of 1917 the Alliance began a new task, namely that of organizing a Czech and Slovak Legion to fight in France. Up to this time it had successfully induced Czechs and Slovaks who were not American citizens to enter into the ranks of American volunteers. Now, however, it took an independent move, partly satisfying the request of the National Council in Paris.[36] As such it also played a fitting part in uniting and combining the scattered Czech revolutionary efforts throughout the world. Its work as a co-ordinator of Czech activity complemented the military and diplomatic efforts which since 1916 had been growing successfully and winning friendship of the Allied Powers for the Czechs and Slovaks.

In February, 1916, the National Council in Paris conceived a plan to organize a Czechoslovak Army in France. At the outbreak of the war Czechs among the Allies and in neutral countries, especially in France, England, and Canada, had volunteered for military service against Austria. In addition to the volunteers there was also abundant man power among the Allies consisting of the prisoners of war, notably in Russia, Italy,

[36] Benes to Bohemian National Alliance, Aug. 8, 1917.

and Serbia, due to wholesale desertion at the front. So successful was the work of the National Council that at the beginning of 1918 it had at its disposal three armies: one in Russia, another in France, and the third in Italy. The establishment of the national armies was of great significance to the Czechoslovak cause. By it the Czechoslovak nation became to a certain extent a military factor involving obligation on the part of the Allies. Its participation in the struggle against the Central Powers secured for its nation the good will and help of the Allied Powers.

On June 29, 1918, the American Czechs and the Alliance were successful in getting Congress to amend the Immigration Law to the effect that the Czechs from America who joined the legions in France might be allowed to return unhindered to the United States. The number of volunteers who were sent to France has been variously estimated. The most accurate statement on the subject probably came from the Secretary of the Alliance, Josef Tvrzicky, who in a letter addressed to the Czechoslovak Detachment from Canada, stated:

> Immediately after your departure I began the work here in America [organizing volunteers]. So that you may form a right conception I am stating here moderate numbers: From Chicago came 600 volunteers. From Texas 80 per cent of all volunteers were Czechs. From other cities our people went in tens, mainly from Cleveland, New York, Cedar Rapids, Baltimore and Omaha. As a whole, I estimate the number of Czech volunteers to be more than 3,000, and that is a very mild estimate.[37]

In the meantime the National Council in Paris was making active efforts for securing recognition of Czechoslovak political independence. The leaders of the Coun-

[37] Josef Tvrzicky to Czechoslovak Detachment from Canada, June 21, 1917 (MS, Archives of Bohemian National Alliance).

cil watched with keen interest all developments in war and diplomacy and endeavored to adjust their work so that it would result in the advantage of their cause. A great diplomatic achievement of the National Council was the persuasion of the Allied Powers to include in their note to President Wilson on January 10, 1917 as one of the points of peace, the liberation of the Czechoslovaks.

This success, however, did not yet mean complete victory for the Czechs. It could only be realized by the success of allied arms—and the prospects of allied victory looked very gloomy at this time. Furthermore, the position of the National Council was made very difficult by the proclamation in January, 1917, of the Czech members of the Austrian Parliament, in which they protested against the inclusion of the liberation of the Czechoslovaks as one of the aims of peace in the note of the Allies to Wilson, since they desired the integrity of the Habsburg Empire. The National Council, however, explained to the Allies that the proclamation was obtained under pressure from Vienna and that it did not represent the true spirit of the Czech people.

Soon, however, in Bohemia the revolutionary action which had been neutralized by Austrian terrorism was becoming more and more pronounced. This was undoubtedly due to the repercussions of the Russian Revolution which was bound to strengthen Republicanism and in consequence perhaps bring a profound change in Bohemian conditions. That the political liveliness of the Czech leaders at home was influenced by the turn of affairs in Russia may be judged from the manifesto which the Czech members of Parliament issued on April 14, 1917, demanding a new Constitution based

on the idea of self-determination of nations.

The voice of the Czech people was heard more persistently during the year 1917. On May 29, came a revolutionary proclamation of 150 Czech writers. This was an appeal to the Czech members of the Parliament to carry out the wishes of the nation and to declare their demand for an independent Czechoslovak state. At the opening of the Austrian Parliament on May 30, 1917, the Czech political leaders demanded state rights and emphasized the principle of self-determination of nations. All these proclamations, although yet uncertain, were utilized by the National Council in Paris and by the Alliance in America, whose job was to convince the Allies that their work for Czechoslovak independence was in complete agreement with the nation at home. In 1917 the Czech question was brought to the international forum when it was presented at the Socialist Conference of the Second International at Stockholm, Sweden, where the National Council presented a memorandum to the members of the Conference. The Czechs utilized to its utmost limits the Congress of Representatives of Oppressed Nationalities of Austria held at Rome in April, 1918. This body greatly impressed the United States Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, who declared on May 29, 1918, that "the nationalistic aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this government."

In America, the work of the Alliance led by Chicago Czechs assumed an unusually important role in May, 1918, inasmuch as it became the dominating Czech and Slovak organization in the world. Professor Masaryk arrived in the United States from Siberia, where he had helped organize the famous Czechoslovak-Russian army,

in May, 1918. Here, with the assistance of the Alliance and its political friends, he at once entered into contact with the most influential Americans in society and government. Despite the constant agitation of American Czechs in favor of their mother country, the United States authorities hesitated in showing any definite sympathies for the Czech or allied cause before declaration of war against the Central Powers. In fact, President Wilson's attitude at this time was far from favorable. During the peace proposals in January, 1917, for example, Colonel House revealed to the German Ambassador in America that President Wilson did not agree with the war aims of the Allies and in fact thought them impossible.

But then came a change in Wilson's views and that of America on the European question. On April 5, 1917, the United States declared war upon Germany. The American attitude towards the Czechoslovak nation was first officially declared by Secretary Lansing, who on May 29, 1918, accepted the resolutions of the Congress of the Oppressed Nations of Austria-Hungary.[38] Then came the action of September 3, 1918, by which the United States recognized the National Council in Paris as the *de facto* government of the Czechoslovak nation. This turn of affairs did not occur naturally, but was mainly due to the conscious effort of the Alliance, various Czech intellectuals, and, of course, the arguments which Professor Masaryk was able to present as a representative of the Liberation Movement in Europe.

The proposals of peace made by Emperor Charles of Austria in 1918 brought the arguments and agitation for

[38] See *ante.*, 406.

Czechoslovak independence to a head. Masaryk decided to issue the Declaration of Czechoslovak Independence over which he had hesitated so long. Logically, the Declaration was a result of the establishment of the Czech Provisional Government proclaimed by Secretary-General Eduard Benes in Paris on October 14, 1918 —an outgrowth of the old National Council. In the Declaration dated October 18, 1918, Masaryk rejected the efforts of Emperor Charles of Austria to transform the Empire into a Federation and outlined the basis of the new State of Czechoslovakia.

Upon signing it Masaryk handed the Declaration to Secretary of State Lansing, so as to secure the approval of the American government and also to remind President Wilson of the Czech position on the eve of his reply to Austria-Hungary. The effect of the Declaration upon President Wilson was strong. Masaryk writes the following about it:

> President Wilson wrote me that the Declaration had moved him deeply, as we should see from his reply to Austria-Hungary. Indeed, his reply was in harmony with our Declaration of the same date. In it President Wilson stated emphatically that the United States had changed its view of Austria-Hungary and of the relationship between Austria-Hungary and America, a change indicated by the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council as the *de facto* Government of the Czechoslovak nation. Likewise the United States recognized the national aims of the Yugoslavs. Hence the President could not accept any mere autonomy of these peoples as a basis of peace Not he but these peoples themselves must be judges of the means by which the Austro-Hungarian Government should fulfill their wishes and satisfy their conceptions of their own rights and destinies.[39]

In this way the coveted freedom of the Czech and Slovak people was won. The task begun four years

[39] Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, 295.

before reached its successful climax in the presidential reply to Austria-Hungary and in his recognition of the Czechoslovak Provisional Government in Paris. The effort in achieving this result was indeed a difficult one, requiring untold sacrifice and offering on the part of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks all over the world but particularly in America. The movement for Czechoslovak independence received in the last analysis a gigantic and most important assistance from the Czechs of Chicago. They were the first in America to see the possibility of independence, the first to start action, and the first to produce a great number of successful and capable men such as were necessary to manage the propaganda of liberation. Their merits were so great that they were selected leaders of a very important element in the movement. Their financial contribution supported and nurtured the National Council in Paris making it quite independent of any money support of the Allied States, to whom the Council naturally would have been indebted. In providing men as legionnaires the Alliance gave the movement a real appearance of independence and enabled the Provisional Government to act with authority at the Peace Conference.

In studying the movement for Czechoslovak Independence, the contribution of the American Czechs stands out prominently. It is hard to conceive the Czechoslovakia which was but recently dismembered without this help. It has often been erroneously stated that the American Czechs contributed only financially. However, financial aid, important as it may have been, would not and could not have been sufficient, had it not been for the zealous and efficient work of individuals and societies of America. Under the influence of Ameri-

can democracy the Czechs of America, led by those of Chicago, first saw the possibility of creating a democratic, independent state for their kinsmen in Europe which would enable them to enjoy the same rights, privileges and freedom that they themselves were able to enjoy in their new homeland. The hopes, ideals, and enthusiasm of the leaders, supported by the devotion and trust of the common people, made it possible for the Czechs of America to leave no stone unturned, no possibility unexplored that would bring them nearer to their goal. It is for the purpose of showing this efficient work and help of the people of America that this study was written.

THE STAGE CAREER OF BUFFALO BILL*

BY JAMES MONAGHAN

FEW people remember that Buffalo Bill, the Wild West showman, was an actor who made his debut in Chicago ten years before he first appeared under the canvas top. On the legitimate stage William Frederick Cody became America's first matinee idol—a box-office favorite. No Hollywood star ever rose to recognition and fortune with more celerity. His first play, "The Scouts of the Prairie or Red Deviltry as it is," took the country by storm. Yet the dramatic critic on the *Chicago Tribune* reported the first performance in 1872, by writing: "Cody speaks his piece after the diffident manner of a school boy: fidgeting uneasily when silent, and, when in dialogue, poking out the right and then the left hand at regular intervals."

The matinee idol was an enigma, the despair of critics. Always, when the newspapers censured him, the attendance at the next performance increased. It was said that people came out of curiosity to see the actor, as they would come to see a strange animal in a cage. Today, it is generally conceded that Buffalo Bill was the child of well-planned publicity—the illegitimate issue of an unholy union between Edward Zane Judson, America's first dime-novelist, who wrote under the pen name of Ned Buntline, and James Gordon Ben-

*The author is indebted to the WPA newspaper indexing project for much of the source material in this article.

nett, owner of the *New York Herald*. Since his popularity had no sound basis, the ten glamorous and bizarre years between Cody's stage performance and his final emergence as the king of Wild West shows are practically forgotten.

Buntline had been the first to discover the new hero who was working for the government with the rating and pay of a laborer. In dime novels he created and embellished the personality of Buffalo Bill. "The character is real," he told the credulous. The euphonious name stuck in men's minds and when James Gordon Bennett arrived in the West for a vacation, he expressed a desire to employ this paper-back hero as guide. It was a regal hunting party that Bennett organized, supplies carried by sixteen wagons, two of which, according to Cody, were loaded with ice for the sportsmen's wine. The New Yorkers pronounced their guide a "mild, agreeable, well-mannered man, quiet and retiring in disposition." He taught them the old western custom of taking a snort of Bourbon before breakfast, a delightful habit "more refreshing than brushing the teeth," his employers later declared.

When Bennett got back to New York and Buffalo Bill became sufficiently sober to take an interest in mundane affairs, the latter read about himself in the *Herald* as the "beau ideal of the plains." This publicity led to another job—guiding the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia—but when the hunting season closed, Cody was soon hard pressed for cash. Perhaps his wealthy acquaintances might employ him as family coachman or, better still, get him a job driving a fire engine. With high hopes he set out for New York City.

James Gordon Bennett, on the lookout for a novelty



Courtesy Colorado Historical Society.

BUFFALO BILL AT THE GOLDEN GATE

to increase the *Herald* circulation, was quick to publicize the picturesque figure as a new thrill for Broadway. He was wined and dined by prominent club men. At the theater, when Buffalo Bill entered a box "the audience rose *en masse* and greeted him with an ovation," the *Herald* reported. For the rest of the season Cody was a personage on Broadway. Of all the heroes who have delighted New York, none ever came nearer looking the part than did Buffalo Bill. Without doubt he was a man of destiny.

Returning to the West he galloped into his home town wearing a silk hat and tails. Nebraska was impressed and elected him to the legislature. The army followed suit, awarding him the Congressional Medal for receiving a scalp wound in an Indian skirmish, almost immediately after his return. As this news was telegraphed east his name appeared once more in the press. Buntline bombarded him with letters, coaxing him to appear on the stage with a Leatherstocking troupe—a name popularly applied to wild west melodrama. A fellow scout, Texas Jack, urged Cody to try the new venture, but surer money was to be made in the tourist business and the two friends took Lord Dunraven on a buffalo hunt in the late summer.

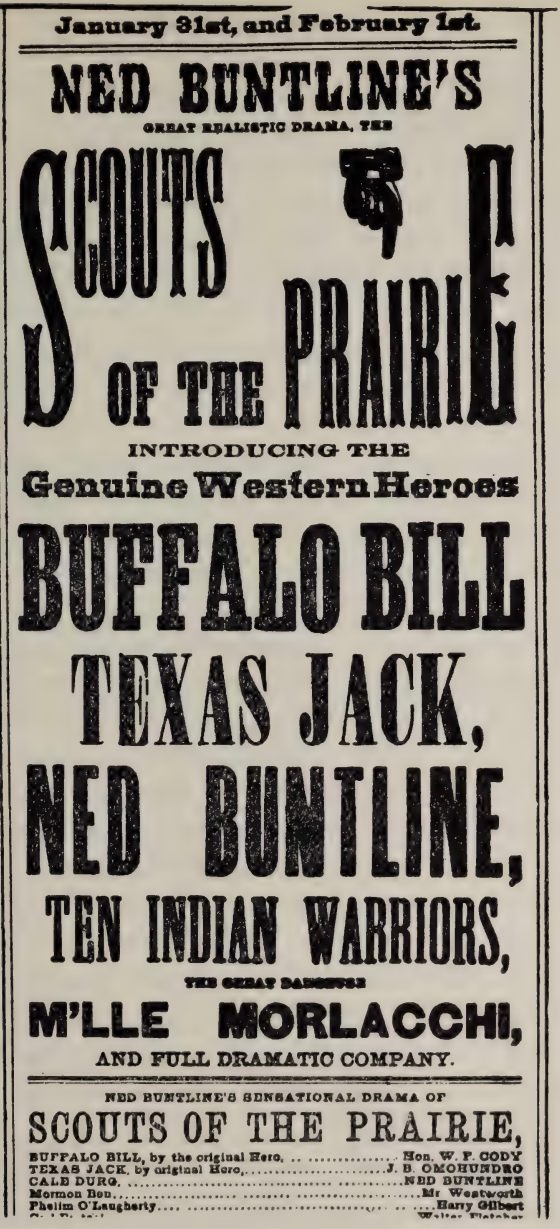
As winter approached, with no employment in sight, Buffalo Bill decided to accept Buntline's invitation and become an actor. He packed his wife and family onto the cars for St. Louis; then, with Texas Jack, he entrained for Chicago where Buntline waited to escort them to a hotel where he wrote a play in four days for the wild "virtuosos." As a divertissement while writing, Buntline coached the novice-stars in their respective parts, and hired twenty "ham" actors from Blue Island

Avenue, costuming them in tan-colored frocks and cambric pantalets to look like Indians. For a heroine, the *Tribune* reported, no competent actress was available, but the widely known danseuse, Mlle Morlacchi, was employed to take the part of Dove Eye, "a beautiful Indian maiden with an Italian accent and a weakness for scouts."

Having just emerged from the ashes of the great fire, Chicago had few available theaters, but the old Amphitheater was reconditioned, and astonished veteran producers on opening night by doing more business than any house in the city. With the rental only $600 a week, the first night's receipts of $2,800 indicated a bonanza.

The play depicted a triple warfare between the scouts, the Indians, and a party of renegade whites, one of whom, according to the *Tribune*, "managed to keep drunk for several days without a drop of anything." The curtain rose on a sylvan scene with red men making "bombastic speeches about the dew, the clouds, and the baseness of white men." The *Times* critic remembered: "They have a strong desire to capture somebody and, consequently, jump about and yell," until Judson, in the part of Cale Durg, a trapper, rushed "unarmed, in the most inexcusable and uncalled-for manner, into the midst of twenty or more of his mortal enemies." Immediately the captive was lashed to a tree and the torture fire was kindled.

At this point in the drama, the suspense was prolonged by a lecture on temperance delivered by Buntline, before the torture fire. This lengthy monologue was summarized by the *Tribune* reporter in a terse sentence. "Buntline," he wrote, "delivered some opinions on the



"Scouts of the Prairie"
Advertisement

use of liquor which he said was injurious and had done a great deal of harm." The sermon over, the redskins returned to the task at hand, to be interrupted byBuffalo Bill and Texas Jack, who bounded in from the wings with smoking pistols. Amid shots and shrieks the savages and the curtain dropped. The second act was similar to the first except for the rescue which was made with lassos instead of pistols. In the third act, Cale Durg died in agony while the scouts bounded in for a belated revenge with bowie knives.

To weave heroines into such a drama would have taxed the ingenuity of any playwright but Buntline, who succeeded by creating a special scene, "The Loves of Buffalo Bill." The *Times* concluded:

> On the whole, it is not probable that Chicago will ever look upon the like again. Such a combination of incongruous drama, execrable acting, renowned performers, mixed audience, intolerable stench, scalping, blood and thunder, is not likely to be vouchsafed to a city for a second time,—even Chicago.

After a prosperous week the troupers went to St. Louis where Buntline gave the show wide notoriety by having himself arrested on an old charge of having jumped bail twenty years before; pure publicity, the papers pronounced it. Mrs. Cody attended the first performance and Buffalo Bill, spying her, leaned over the gas footlights and waved his arms, shouting, "Oh, Mama! I'm a bad actor." The audience roared with applause. They were seeing real scouts—not play-actors—and they loved it.

A few days later the *Cincinnati Times* announced:

> The heroes in Buntline's writings arrived today and were driven around town behind four prancing milk-white steeds Buffalo Bill's features are marked in their daring and precision, and fully

come up to the imagination of the dashing, handsome scout of the plains Texas Jack is different, being of heavy build and rather short, but his physiognomy displays an eager, anxious, ever-ready sort of look, which is characteristic of the border man.

Both scouts wore "huge white hats with the brims turned up on one side." To the consternation of the serious critics this show drew "the only satisfactory receipts of the week."

New York City, a week later, read in one of its papers this item:

Cincinnati. W. J. Halpin, actor, died at noon today from the effects of injuries received last Thursday night when playing his part as Big Wolf with Ned Buntline's Company.

Manhattan wondered if this could be only an invention of the enterprising Buntline, or if it was grim truth about an extraordinarily realistic show. Grim truth seemed right as the scouts went into seclusion for three months.

And so to Broadway, to face the cream of competition—Lawrence Barrett in "Julius Caesar," Joe Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," and E. A. Sothern in "Lord Dundreary," a play so popular it was revived by the actor's son, E. H. Sothern, a generation later. In 1873, New York was showing a new interest in the West. Hundreds of thousands of emigrants, headed for the plains, were passing through the city every year. Wall Street bankers were whispering that millions would be made in the cattle business if the Indians could be removed. Millions were being made in mills, rolling steel for five prospective railroads across the plains. Daily the newspapers carried accounts of the progress of Indian wars involving the Apache and the Modoc.

When Buntline's show arrived, another Leatherstock-

ing troupe led by William H. Walley, better known as Captain Jack, was showing at the Theatre Comique. This was direct competition hard to offset, and to add to the scouts' bad luck, James Gordon Bennett's mother died on the night of the opening performance. If Cody expected favorable recognition in the *Herald* he was disappointed, for the morning after his debut he read:

> The long promised production of "The Scouts of the Prairie" at Niblo's was accomplished last night without accident. The drama, of which we understand Ned Buntline is the author, is about everything in general and nothing in particular. Every act ends with a fight between the scouts and the Indians—the first act being still further embellished by a characteristic war dance. The Indians, as well as the scouts, are the genuine article. The real hero of the piece is Cale Durg, the part represented by Ned Buntline, the American Bulwer. Mr. Judson (otherwise Buntline) represents the part as badly as is possible for any human being to represent it. The Hon. William F. Cody, otherwise "Buffalo Bill," occasionally called by the refined people of the eastern cities, "Bison William," is a good-looking fellow, tall and straight as an arrow, but ridiculous as an actor. Texas Jack is not quite so good-looking, not so tall, not so straight, and not so ridiculous. Ned Buntline is simply maundering imbecility. Ludicrous beyond the power of description is Ned Buntline's temperance address in the forest. To describe the play and its reception is alike impossible. The applause savored of derision, and the derision of applause. Everything was so wonderfully bad that it was almost good. The whole performance was so far aside of human experience, so wonderful in its daring feebleness that no ordinary intellect is capable of comprehending it.

The critic of the *World* saw something his colleague had missed. With unerring judgment he singled out the one star in the performance.

> As a drama it is very poor slop. But as an exhibition of three remarkable men it is not without interest. The Hon. W. F. Cody enters into the spectacle with a curious grace and a certain characteristic charm that pleases the beholders. He is a remarkably hand-



NED BUNTLINE, BUFFALO BILL, TEXAS JACK

In the costumes worn for their first stage appearance in Chicago. This picture was offered to every "lady" who would attend the show.

some fellow on the stage, and the lithe springy step, the round uncultured voice and utter absence of anything like stage art, won for him the good-will of an audience which was disposed to laugh at all that was intended to be pathetic and serious.

This "utter absence of anything like stage art" proved immensely popular to audiences surfeited with the conventional dramatic bombast of Booth, Beerbohm-Tree, and Sothern, the elder. For ten years Cody charmed theatergoers, making "money to throw to the birds" as he expressed it.

His appeal was not to the intellect but to the eye—mainly to women who made up the matinee crowds. Strange as it may seem, it is in the hearts of women, today, that Buffalo Bill's immortality is most secure. Seven-eighths of all the magazine articles written about him since his death twenty years ago have appeared in women's magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, etc. Cody's managers had noted this attraction from the beginning as attested by his special scene, "The Loves of Buffalo Bill." Extra matinees were always announced for Cody's performances. Newspaper advertisements stated that all ladies attending the show would be presented with a "beautiful picture of Buffalo Bill." Men might rail against him to their heart's content, to women he was always something wished for, a dream come true. When Rosa Bonheur met him in France she painted one of her best horse pictures with Buffalo Bill in the saddle. In America, years after Buffalo Bill's debut, Amy Leslie, the widely read dramatic critic of the *Chicago Daily News*, and wife of Frank Buck (who had not then learned to "bring 'em back alive") wrote:

Cody is one of the most imposing men in appearance that

America ever grew in her kindly atmosphere. In his earlier days a hint of the border desperado lurked in his blazing eyes and the poetic fierceness of his mein and coloring. Now it is all subdued into pleasantness and he is the kindliest, most benign gentleman, as simple as a village priest, and learned as a savant of Chartreuse. All the gray that has been thrust into his whirlwind life has centered itself in the edges of his beautiful hair.

None of the other Leatherstocking actors had this appeal, and one by one they dropped from the scene. Buntline quit after the first season. At the end of the second, Texas Jack married Mlle Morlacchi and retired from the stage, his place being taken by Wild Bill Hickok, the most famous scout of them all. Hickok then decided to try the big cities with his own troupe, but sank to giving sporadic performances in honky-tonks at Kansas City, St. Joe, and Cheyenne, and finally gave up to accept a position as marshal at Deadwood, Dakota Territory, where he was shot in the back while playing cards. William H. Walley and others hung on for a time, unnoticed and forgotten, but Buffalo Bill kept himself before the public eye. Buntline had taught him the value of publicity at St. Louis and Cincinnati—the importance of making people remember him as a scout, not as an actor. So when, in 1876, Sitting Bull went on the warpath, Cody promptly closed his show and joined the soldiers.

In June, Custer's command was massacred on the Little Big Horn. In July, according to the newspapers, Buffalo Bill took "the first scalp for Custer." This fight had occurred at Hat Creek, and the matinee idol, wearing "a handsome Mexican suit of black velvet, slashed with scarlet, and trimmed with silver buttons and lace," was said to have challenged Chief Yellow Hand to single combat and to have killed him, between admiring

lines of red men and white. James Gordon Bennett gave his old friend almost a column in the *Herald*. Fifty years later, survivors of the fight declared that Yellow Hand was murdered by a squawman in the Indian village, a day previous to the arrival of the soldiers.

After the skirmish Cody undoubtedly had a scalp which he carried in his pocket, but whether it was taken from a live Indian or a dead one, is open to question. One of the officers offered him fifty dollars to throw it away, and Sergeant Richardson remembered begging Cody to ride on the other side of the column where the wind would not blow in his direction. Having obtained this and other trophies, Cody abandoned the campaign and returned to enjoy the most successful stage season he had yet known, terminating it the following spring by a quarrel with his wife over "the manner in which he bade good-bye to some of the actresses."

It is probable that Buffalo Bill, like his Leatherstocking contemporaries, would have finally faded from the theatrical world—just another matinee idol—had it not been for Nate Salsbury, a veteran theatrical manager and lover of horses. Salsbury was a born money-maker with a record for producing successful musical reviews in both Europe and America, and it was he who conceived the idea of starring Buffalo Bill in an outdoor production with rough riders, genuine Indians and horses. This was the origin of the Wild West Show which for a generation toured Europe and the United States, making the name of Buffalo Bill more familiar to more people of more languages and nationalities than any other American who ever lived—excepting only Woodrow Wilson and Henry Ford.

The subsequent career of the great showman is generally known. In the eighties it was a mark of social distinction to be driven around the arena in the Deadwood coach amid yipping Indians and ki-yi-ing cowboys. This popular diversion, first introduced by Cody at Newport, was accepted with avidity by European nobility. In London at one performance the historic coach carried four kings, a Russian grand duke, and three crown princes—one of them Wilhelm of Germany, while the Prince of Wales clung to the driver's seat beside Buffalo Bill. After the show Cody was wined and dined by the noblemen and he taught them to play poker. Lord Beresford gave him a mount on the box seat of his drag at the Coaching Club.

At the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, the Wild West Show cleaned up a cool million. Cody bought a newspaper in Duluth, paid off the indebtedness of five churches in his home town, North Platte, Nebraska, and gave the town a cemetery, a fair grounds and purchased uniforms for the band. But when he brought home new friends his wife objected and a quarrel followed. Out in Wyoming he bought the TE Ranch, founded the town of Cody at the eastern gateway to Yellowstone Park, and spent $75,000 promoting the stage career of Katherine Clemmons, an aspiring actress. He helped promote eleven bustling enterprises, became president of eleven companies and half-owner in a cereal substitute for coffee.

While he was visiting North Platte, on Christmas, his wife put something in his coffee, intending as she said, to "break the old reprobate from drinking." Cody stormed from the house telling friends, "She tried to poison me."



Courtesy Colorado Historical Society.

BUFFALO BILL AND HIS SISTER NELLIE

Salsbury died in 1902 and the depression of 1907 wiped out the Wild West Show. The rest is tragedy. Buffalo Bill was compelled to hire himself to various circuses. At seventy-one, a great-grandfather, painted, powdered and wearing a wig, he was still galloping around the arena. His apparent buoyancy was make-believe. "I am old and tired," he wrote.

Once, in a gust of wind, the circus performers clutched the side of the tent attempting to hold it down, but the wind was too much for them and all hands let go except Cody, who was carried high in the air, kicking frantically in his Duke of Wellington boots. When the wind subsided, letting him down, the old man's hair stood on end like a cockatoo's nest. "They plotted to kill me," he croaked to a newspaper friend.

In November, 1916, the old showman collapsed in Chicago and he was sent to the home of his sister in Denver. The doctors gave him but a few days to live. Cody, refusing to be put to bed, was propped in a chair. He kicked when they tried to unlace his shoes—he would die with his boots on!

On January 10, 1917, he died. "I was sitting downstairs with the family, his sisters," said Chauncey Thomas, a Denver newspaper man, "and we wondered where to get the money to bury Buffalo Bill."

GOVERNOR ALTGELD PARDONS THE ANARCHISTS

BY HARVEY WISH

THE Haymarket Affair, America's *cause célèbre* of the eighties, requires no extensive introduction.[1] It is no longer considered as an instance of alien violence momentarily transplanted to an American environment but rather as a chapter of the indigenous eight-hour movement and the resultant class warfare. During the panic of 1873, particularly in the great railroad strikes of 1877, the labor issue attained unusual national prominence. With the depression of 1885-1886, the agitation for shorter hours again reached a critical stage. The choice of May Day, with its radical European connotations, for the inauguration of widespread strikes alarmed employers everywhere. Pinkerton detectives, the industrial hirelings of that period, found ready employment at this time in investigating alleged "anarchist" plots and in breaking strikes.[2] During 1885-1886, the state militia were repeatedly invoked to deal with labor disputes in various sections of Illinois.[3] On May 1, 1886, a general strike of organized workers began in Chicago and other industrial centers of the

[1] See the writer's presentation of the Haymarket Riot in "The Administration of Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois" (doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1936). See also Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936).

[2] *Governor's Biennial Message to the Legislature* (Springfield, 1886).

[3] *Ibid.*

country in behalf of the eight-hour day. In Chicago, where some forty thousand workmen left their tasks, public attention was directed particularly to the large McCormick Harvester organization on the far west side. When the McCormick officials began to import outside workmen, rioting followed. Patrol wagons, filled with strikers, were sometimes attacked by angry mobs of men and women. Every railroad in the city was crippled, all the freight houses were closed and barred, and most of the industries of Chicago were paralyzed. The situation was tense.

On Monday afternoon, May 3, August Spies, editor of the semi-anarchist labor paper, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, addressed a large meeting of strikers about a quarter of a mile north of McCormick's plant. While he was speaking, about two hundred men left the crowd and ran towards the factory; in about three minutes several shots were heard and detachments of police arrived and opened fire on the fleeing crowd which had remained behind to hear Spies. Five or six of the people were mortally wounded and several times that number hurt. Spies, aroused by the attack, issued circulars calling for "Revenge!" and announcing a meeting for the evening of May 4 at the Haymarket Square. The mayor, Carter H. Harrison, decided to be present but after listening to several innocuous speeches became bored. He noted that the crowd was small and unarmed and finally left after suggesting to Captain Bonfield at the Desplaines Street station that the police reserves be released. Shortly thereafter, a force of 180 policemen under Captains Bonfield and Ward marched upon the meeting demanding its immediate dispersal. At this point something like a miniature rocket rose out of the crowd

from the east sidewalk in a line with the police and exploded among the officers. Uniformed men fell on all sides. A bell tolled the riot alarm.

Immediately the press gave vent to a determined lynching sentiment. The police began its anarchist hunt under the terrific pressure of newspaper attacks. Homes were invaded without warrant and ransacked for evidence; suspects were beaten and subjected to the "third degree;" individuals, ignorant of the meaning of socialism and anarchism, were tortured by the police, sometimes bribed as well, to act as witnesses for the state. Eventually the suspects were reduced to eight individuals, Albert Parsons, Samuel Fielden, August Spies, Michael Schwab, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer. Only Fielden had been present at the time of the explosion; Parsons and Spies had left some time before; the others were either at home or speaking elsewhere. They were tried jointly for conspiracy, despite the failure to find a chief conspirator or agent. The ensuing trial under Judge Joseph E. Gary, conducted with singular disregard for civil guarantees, merely enacted the judgment rendered by the leading newspapers. All were sentenced to death except Neebe, who, although declared guilty of murder by the jury, was sentenced by Gary to fifteen years' imprisonment. Upon appeal, the Illinois Supreme Court defined socialistic principles as advocating a theft of property; hence the juror was entitled to a prejudice against socialists. Subsequently the United States Supreme Court refused jurisdiction, ruling that no federal question was involved. The strong protest of distinguished liberals of Europe and America to Gov. Richard J. Oglesby failed to turn the tide of public hysteria. The Governor's offer

to commute the sentences to life imprisonment was spurned by the prisoners, save for Schwab and Fielden; Lingg, soon thereafter, committed suicide. On November 11, 1886, the four condemned men, Parsons, Engel, Fischer, and Spies calmly met their death.

During the years following the execution, the cause of the surviving Haymarket prisoners, Neebe, Schwab, and Fielden, became closely identified with the struggle of labor everywhere for better conditions. Early in the case an Amnesty Association had been organized by George Schilling, later Secretary of Labor Statistics under Governor Altgeld. In Chicago alone, the Association gathered 100,000 members, chiefly from trade unionist bodies; by June, 1893, there were 375 branch lodges of the organization.[4] Although the intervening administration of Gov. Joseph Fifer had proved devoid of results for the prisoners, there were ample grounds for the widespread belief that the new Governor, John Peter Altgeld, would act. Schilling initiated an appeal for a monster petition to the Governor.[5] Preparations were made for a new descent upon Springfield by an Amnesty Committee consisting of prominent Chicagoans of all classes.[6] Many conservatives now feared the worst.

This movement gained momentum with the adhesion of a large business and professional class element who felt that the prisoners should be pardoned on the ground that they had been sufficiently punished. There was little, if any, desire to gain exoneration for the

[4] *Chicago Tribune*, June 27, 1893.

[5] George Schilling to Henry D. Lloyd, April 29, 1892, Henry Demarest Lloyd MSS (Wisconsin State Historical Library, Madison).

[6] Charles Bary (Secretary of the Amnesty Association) to Lloyd, May 31, 1893, *ibid.*

three men by casting any doubt upon the fairness of the Gary trial itself. Lyman J. Gage, president of the First National Bank of Chicago and later Secretary of the Treasury in McKinley's cabinet, took a prominent part. He declared to Schilling that the hanging had created a dangerous rift between classes and it was necessary to remove the resentment of the working men who placed the responsibility for the collapse of the eight-hour movement upon the shoulders of the middle class.[7] Another banker, E. S. Dreyer, who admittedly had shared in the hysteria of 1886-1887, proved of great service in the struggle for an executive pardon.[8] The publisher and proprietor of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, William Penn Nixon, who was a prominent Republican, became the chairman of the Amnesty Committee.[9] Among the other amnesty leaders who acted persistently in behalf of the prisoners were Judge Samuel P. McConnell, Edward Osgood Brown, Clarence Darrow, Judge Murray F. Tuley, Lyman Trumbull, Edward F. Dunne, and William C. Goudy.

At the time of the famous trial of the anarchists, Altgeld, who was then a judge, refrained from comment upon the case, though he sent money and clothing to the distressed families of the defendants.[10] During his election campaign and almost up to the moment of his message, he refused to commit himself as to what he would do regarding the anarchists. A labor delegation which came to see him while he was a candidate for governor was given no definite answer on this matter

[7] Interview with George A. Schilling, Dec. 8, 1935.

[8] Sigmund Zeisler, *Reminiscences of the Anarchist Case* (Chicago, 1927), 15.

[9] Speech of the late Clarence S. Darrow before the Altgeld Memorial meeting at the Auditorium, Chicago, April 20, [1902?].

[10] Clarence S. Darrow, *The Story of my Life* (New York, 1932), 99.

and when one member proved unpleasantly aggressive he was shown the door.[11] The Republican newspapers, however, pretended to be better informed. The editor of the *Illinois State Journal* declared: "Every vote for John P. Altgeld will be a vote for the pardon of the anarchists in Joliet Penitentiary."[12] Altgeld's remark during the campaign that he could see no harm in anarchists and socialists carrying red flags was bitterly attacked as an indication of the lawless character of the Democratic candidate.[13]

Altgeld's humanitarian ideals were the sole basis for the belief that he would pardon the anarchists. During the late fall of 1891, he had protested against police brutality in the perennial raids to discover anarchist plots. In a letter to the chief of police, Maj. R. W. McClaughry, Altgeld expressed himself strongly:

> The American people are not prepared to substitute government by police ruffians for government by law We can not for a moment admit that by simply applying an unpopular or obloquious name to men, whether that name be anarchist or socialist . . . an officer can be justified in depriving men of rights guaranteed by the fundamental law I will say to you that it will be an evil day for our country when the poor and the ignorant, misguided though they may be, shall feel that a bullet is the only minister of justice which can right their wrongs, and the conduct of your officers now, like the conduct of certain officers in the spring of '86, will certainly tend to create that feeling and to accelerate its growth.[14]

This protest reveals clearly Altgeld's understanding of the conditions underlying democratic government. Rule by ballot can exist only so long as it is effective in operation; otherwise there remains an undisguised

[11] Interview with Schilling, Dec. 8, 1935.
[12] *Illinois State Journal*, Nov. 8, 1892.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Nov. 14, 1891. Reprinted in John Peter Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), 196-202.

tyranny. Police brutality, fostered in the interests of a united minority, is a preliminary to popular revolt. Altgeld's belief in the possibility of redressing the balance of social inequality by parliamentary methods is the key to much of his life.

Shortly after Altgeld's inauguration, an event occurred which caused a number of thoughtful men to reconsider the entire anarchist trial. On January 19, 1893, the Illinois Supreme Court, in the case of *The People* v. *Coughlin*, a trial for murder, ruled that a juror who had read about a case and formed an opinion that the defendant was guilty, was ineligible to act.[15] In the anarchist case, that same court had decided otherwise. Justice Magruder, who delivered the majority opinion in the case of *Spies* v. *Illinois*, now declared that if the court was right in the Coughlin case, it was wrong in the anarchist case. To a good lawyer like Altgeld, the inference was plain: a sound legal argument on irrefutable grounds could be built up for the three men in Joliet Penitentiary.

Meanwhile the amnesty group began to feel impatient and wondered whether they had been deceived in Altgeld. Clarence Darrow went to see the Governor and told him that his friends were growing restless and disappointed; something should be done at once. Darrow further assured him that the pardon "had been generally asked for by all the people, that it would not even create hostility toward him," and that no one could see any excuse for waiting. Darrow wrote that Altgeld deliberately and calmly replied:

Go tell your friends that when I am ready I will act. I don't

[15] Edgar Lee Masters, "John Peter Altgeld," *American Mercury*, Vol. IV, no. 14 (Feb., 1925), 161-74.



John Peter Altgeld

know how I will act, but I will do what I think is right But don't deceive yourself: If I conclude to pardon those men it will not meet with the approval that you expect; let me tell you that from that day I will be a dead man.[16]

When the secretary of the Amnesty Association wrote to Altgeld concerning the pardon after his first month in office, the Governor replied that he had been unable to give it any attention.[17]

The activity of the pardon-seekers had impelled Judge Joseph E. Gary to review the case for the *Century Magazine*. In this he added nothing new beyond what had already been said by the state's attorney, Julius S. Grinnell. The anarchists, he declared, were guilty of conspiracy to murder, not because they had specially instructed the bomb-thrower, but for the reason that they had advocated this course by a general address to readers and hearers.[18] This article occasioned considerable comment and was considered by some to be in poor taste, if not deficient in logic. It influenced to some extent the bitter note sounded by Altgeld in the pardon message.

The task of reviewing the monumental records of the Gary trial was a stupendous one. A greater lawyer than Altgeld would have hesitated to undertake it. The Governor himself was keenly aware of his limitations and looked about for some prominent lawyer to prepare the arguments for the prisoners. He sent his Secretary of Labor Statistics, George Schilling, who acted

[16] Darrow, *The Story of my Life*, 100-101.

[17] Altgeld to Bary, March 1, 1893, Letter Book of Governor Altgeld (Archives Division, Illinois State Library, Springfield).

[18] Joseph E. Gary, "The Chicago Anarchists of 1886," *Century Magazine*, Vol. XLV, no. 6 (April, 1893), 803-37. During the month of April, Clarence Darrow lectured on Gary's article in the presence of the Judge himself! Darrow to Lloyd, April 28, 1893, Lloyd MSS.

as the Governor's personal representative, to Chicago in order to sound out Lyman Trumbull on the matter. Trumbull, who had once been Lincoln's close associate and had since enjoyed a brilliant national career, had signed Judge McConnell's petition in 1887 requesting a commutation of sentence for the condemned men. He had declared to McConnell that the accused did not have a fair trial.[19] Schilling was received hospitably and when the discussion came around to the trial, Trumbull compared it with a New England witch-hunt. Following such an encouraging response, Schilling asked if he would go to Springfield to present the case for a pardon before the Governor, but Trumbull refused to undertake the task.[20]

When the emissary returned to report his failure, Altgeld asked him what he surmised to be the real reason for Trumbull's rejection. To this Schilling suggested the fact that such lawyers owed their livelihood to corporations. Altgeld paused, and began pacing the floor thoughtfully, gazing intently at the portraits of early Illinois statesmen which covered the walls of the Executive Mansion. He stopped before a picture of Lincoln, staring at it with his hands burrowed in his pockets. Schilling watched the scene quietly and then remarked: "I would like to help you, but the corporations have intimidated the great lawyers. We ought to drop this case if you can't handle it yourself." This spurred Altgeld into a determined reply, "We don't need them, Schilling! We don't need them!"[21]

The heavy research work on the anarchist case began

[19] Samuel P. McConnell, "The Chicago Bomb Case," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 168 (May, 1934), 730-39.
[20] Interview with Schilling, Dec. 8, 1935.
[21] *Ibid.*

at once. Affidavits were collected, newspapers were carefully scanned, hearsay statements were cautiously validated by other proofs, individuals concerned in the trial were interviewed. McConnell and Schilling worked hard to check upon this material. During a conversation with McConnell held in the Governor's library, Altgeld, pointing to a stack of great volumes, remarked: "There is the record of the anarchist case. I have read every word of it and I have decided to pardon all three of the men and I want to read you my message."[22] The judge criticized it as "too much Altgeld and not enough governor in it." He objected to the criticism of Judge Gary as entirely too personal. Altgeld agreed and promised to change it, but the pressure of subsequent affairs prevented his alteration of the message.[23]

When the Governor's course became evident to the Secretary of State, William H. Hinrichsen, the latter asked, "Do you think it good policy to pardon them? I do not." To this Altgeld replied, "It is right!" and struck his desk emphatically with his fist. Later, after the message had been delivered, he remarked to Hinrichsen, "You are younger than I and will live to see my pardon of the anarchists justified."[24]

Shortly before the pardon message was delivered, the press learned of Altgeld's intention. There prevailed a

[22] McConnell, *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1934, p. 738.

[23] Waldo R. Browne, Altgeld's biographer, states that McConnell was in error regarding the Gary criticism because—so he claims— Gary's article had not appeared at the time of McConnell's interview with Altgeld. This is a curious correction since Browne himself gives the date of the interview as "a few weeks before the pardons were issued" and the *Century* article, as he must have been aware, had already appeared in April, 1893. See Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois* (New York, 1924), 112-13. Darrow's letter of April 28, 1893 to Lloyd indicates that the April issue appeared early in the month. Lloyd MSS.

[24] William H. Hinrichsen, "Illinois Giants I Have Known," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 16, 1902.

tense atmosphere of expectation in many quarters since it was understood that the subject would be dealt with in no orthodox fashion. On June 26, 1893, Altgeld's message was given to the press where it was in many instances reproduced in full.

As the case has already been discussed, it will be sufficient to note Altgeld's specific contributions and his basic reasons for pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab. After a primary statement of the events of May 4, 1886, he outlined five aspects of the trial which deserved particular attention:

1. Was the jury packed?
2. Were the jurors legally competent?
3. Does the proof show guilt as charged in the indictment?
4. Is there any case against the defendant, Neebe?
5. Did the judge grant a fair trial?[25]

He refused to consider the argument that the defendants had been sufficiently punished. If the men were guilty then this was no case for executive interference. "Government must defend itself," he declared.

Proceeding to the jurors in the case, he showed that their names had not been drawn from a box containing many hundreds of them as the law contemplated. Instead an exceptional procedure of allowing the bailiff absolute power to select a jury had been followed. Such a course had been sustained only in cases in which it did not appear that either side suffered thereby. In support of his assertion that the bailiff wilfully selected a large number of prejudiced jurors in order to exhaust the defense attorney's challenges, Altgeld cited the affi-

[25] "Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab, the So-called Anarchists," June 26, 1893. Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 365-400.

davit of Otis S. Favor, a Chicago merchant. The Governor then pointed out certain evidence that showed collusion between the state's attorney, if not the judge himself, and Otis Favor, the affiant. When the charge was made in court that the bailiff, Henry L. Ryce, had packed the jury, Grinnell obtained Favor's refusal to make an affidavit which the defendants could use upon this point, and Judge Gary refused to intervene despite the fact that it was known Favor would testify if compelled to do so by subpoena. As a result, Favor's affidavit was not before the Illinois Supreme Court at the time it reviewed the case.

Regarding the competency of the jurors, Altgeld quoted the recent decision of the Illinois high court in *The People* v. *Coughlin*, known as the Cronin case. The judge, delivering the opinion of the majority, had made the following declaration:

> It is difficult to see how, after a juror has avowed a fixed and settled opinion as to the prisoner's guilt, a court can be legally satisfied of the truth of his answer that he can render a fair and impartial verdict Under such circumstances it is idle to inquire of the jurors whether they can return just and impartial verdicts Nor can it be said that instructions from the court would correct the bias of the jurors who swear they incline in favor of one of the litigants.

Altgeld showed that the bias in the testimony of the anarchist case was more extreme than in the Cronin case.

When he dealt with the nature of the proof itself, he could not refrain from several caustic remarks concerning the failure of the prosecution to show any connection between the defendants and the bomb-thrower. He attributed the apparently seditious utterances of the accused to the excitement of men who felt they had been wronged. According to his theory the bomb had

been thrown by someone seeking personal revenge, particularly against Captain Bonfield and his police. This was supported by letters, affidavits, and newspaper quotations showing the extreme brutality of Bonfield against laboring men and his indiscriminate clubbing of strikers and spectators.[26] Even Michael J. Schaack, a police captain, who was far from tender in his relations to strikers, wrote that Bonfield's course was brutal and unnecessary. If the theory of the prosecution was correct that the bomb had been the outcome of a conspiracy, reasoned Altgeld, then several bombs, not one, should have been thrown.

Regarding the alleged prevalence of anarchist plots, the Governor introduced some highly important evidence to the contrary. With the co-operation of Capt. Frederick Ebersold, who had been chief of police at the time of the Haymarket Affair, Altgeld was able to validate a significant interview of the former published in the *Chicago Daily News* on May 10, 1889:

> It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago.
>
> On the other hand, Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man Schaack, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now here is something that the public does not know. After we

[26] At the trial Barton Simonson, a traveling salesman, testified concerning Captain Bonfield: "I spoke to Captain Bonfield about the trouble at McCormick's [May 3, 1886] and he said that the greatest trouble the police had in dealing with the socialists was that they had their women and children with them at the meeting, so that the police could not get them. He said he wished he could get a crowd of about 3,000 of them together without their women and children and he would make short work of them." Abstract of Record of Anarchy Case, II: 176 (MS in Chicago Public Library).

got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling—keep himself prominent before the public. . . .

After I heard all that, I began to think there was, perhaps, not so much to all this anarchist business as they claimed[27]

This amazing evidence clears up a number of points in connection with the case. Though Altgeld did not include another matter closely related to this in his message, he knew that Schaack and others like him were being paid by worried citizens to watch the alleged anarchists of Chicago.[28] The opportunity for a police officer to obtain promotion in this manner is obvious.[29]

The case against Fielden, as Altgeld demonstrated, was based on the weakest of legal grounds. Police witnesses had stated that Fielden had urged his hearers to attack the police and had drawn a revolver, firing at them. These witnesses were mutually contradictory on these points. Newspaper reporters, who were closer to the scene, denied the truth of these allegations. Judge Gary had written to Governor Oglesby that Fielden "was

[27] Captain Ebersold, though a German himself, seems to have taken a bitter dislike to the anarchists of his nationality. When Spies was brought before him, he not only insulted the prisoner coarsely but beat him up until Bonfield (!) intervened. Testimony of August Spies, *ibid.*, 296. Ebersold was finally induced to write out an account exposing the anarchist scares as fakes. This was achieved through the efforts of Judge McConnell. Interview with Schilling, Dec. 8, 1935.

[28] Two months later Altgeld declared: "I have been informed at different times during the last seven or eight years, that some wealthy business men of Chicago were kept in such a state of uneasiness by this anarchist talk, that they were induced, from time to time, to pay money to these fellows [the police] for the ostensible purpose of watching the maneuvers of a class of people who in reality had no existence." Interview, *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1893, reprinted in Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 405; also in the *Chicago Times*, Aug. 31, 1893. For an early proposal of "business cooperation," see the *Chicago Daily News*, Aug. 11, 1886.

[29] Captain Schaack had played a leading part in obtaining the evidence for the prosecution. He claimed the chief credit for the final conviction. *Boston Sunday Herald*, Aug. 22, 1886 (clipping in A. R. Parson's Scrapbook, Wisconsin State Historical Library). For a short time he even posed as an authority upon anarchists whom he describes in his amazing book, *Anarchy and Anarchists* (Chicago, 1889). Charles E. Russell gives a humorous account of a Schaack-inspired anarchist hunt in his article, "The Haymarket and Afterwards," *Appleton's Magazine*, Oct., 1907, 412.

more a misguided enthusiast than a criminal conscious of the horrible nature and the effect of his teachings and of his responsibility therefore;" he added that Fielden had a natural love of justice and in his private life was honest, industrious, and peaceable. The state's attorney, Grinnell, during a conference at the home of Lyman Gage in the fall of 1887, declared that he had serious doubts whether Fielden ever had a revolver.[30] As for Schwab, the evidence against him was even less and his conduct during the trial had created a favorable impression upon the state's attorney, who regarded him as a pliant tool of more designing people.

If the matter were not so tragic, the case against Neebe would be laughable indeed. His two dollars' worth of stock in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and his connection with its management on the day *after* the Haymarket Affair were the only bits of evidence against him. According to the letters of Mayor Harrison and Frederick S. Winston, the corporation counsel at the time, Grinnell had declared to them in the courtroom that he did not think he had a case against Neebe and that he wished to dismiss him, but was discouraged by his associates who feared that this step might influence the jury in favor of the other defendants. While the others had been accused of using seditious language this could not be said of Neebe.

In his conclusion, Altgeld paid his respects to Gary and referred to the recent article written by the latter as "full of venom." He spoke of the judge's "ferocity of subserviency" and compared him with Lord Jeffries.

[30] Altgeld validated these details through Lyman Gage. Previously this material had been mere hearsay. Altgeld to Gage, May 13, 1893, Letter Book of Governor Altgeld.

Altgeld admitted the personal nature of these charges but asserted they were borne out by the record of the trial and the papers before him. He concluded with an absolute pardon for Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab.

Brand Whitlock, who was then employed by the Secretary of State, was asked to prepare three pardons with the official seal of the state. They were turned over to E. S. Dreyer, who had been active in the amnesty movement. At 11:20 P. M. that day, the prison gates opened for the newly freed men.[31] Whitlock remarked to the Governor, "Well, the storm will break now." Altgeld replied with an apparent pretense of indifference, "Oh, yes, I was prepared for that. It was merely doing right."[32]

It would have been hard enough for the newspapers to accept a pardon on the grounds that the men had suffered enough. But for the Governor to override judge, jury, and public opinion, and to declare that the men had been unjustly tried—that was too much. Even some of the amnesty people were appalled. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, whose editor-publisher was a chairman of the Amnesty Committee, wrote that Altgeld's attack on Gary and Bonfield was without excuse and "positively outrageous."[33] The *Chicago Times*, a Democratic journal which had been sympathetic to the pardoning of the

[31] *Illinois State Register*, June 27, 1893; also the *Chicago Times*, June 27, 1893. At this time Voltairine DeCleyre wrote a poem commemorating Altgeld's message:

A grating of the doors, and three poor men,
Helpless and hated, having naught to give,
Come from their long-sealed tombs, look up and live,
And thank this Man that they are free again!
And he—to all the world this man dares say,
"Curse as you will! I have been just this day."

In Memoriam: John Peter Altgeld [Chicago, 1902?].

[32] Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York, 1920), 75.

[33] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 26-27, 1893.

anarchists, scolded the Governor for going beyond an act of executive clemency, and declared that it was not his prerogative "to pry into the motives" of judge, jurymen, prosecutors, and witnesses.[34] The editor charitably concluded that Altgeld had erred on the side of mercy. Scarcely a journal, outside of the ranks of labor, was willing to go beyond an icy condonation of the pardon message. The majority regarded the arguments used as an attack upon the sanctity of judicial processes. Americans have been loath to apply everyday standards of conduct to those sheltered by the judicial ermine.

If the friends of executive clemency were dissatisfied, the opponents, who objected to any form of pardon, were virulently hostile. The *Chicago Tribune*, characteristically a pioneer in such matters, led the outcry. "Never," said its editor, "did the Governor of an American State—with the exception of those Southern Governors who issued secession proclamations—put his name to so revolutionary and infamous a document."[35] On the next day, the editor, noting the widespread denunciation of Altgeld with satisfaction, remarked that "the political remains" of Altgeld would draw the salary of governor for forty-two months longer.[36] The *Chicago Herald*, the organ of the Walsh Democratic machine, published a severe condemnation of the pardon message.[37] The editor of the *New York Tribune* professed to believe that Altgeld's pardon was evidence of a plot to deliver the criminal and anarchist elements over to the Illinois Democrats; the approval of several

[34] *Chicago Times*, June 27, 1893.
[35] *Chicago Tribune*, June 28, 1893.
[36] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1893.
[37] *Chicago Herald*, June 26, 1893.

New York anarchists was cited as proof.[38] In Milwaukee, where labor difficulties closely paralleled those of Chicago, the *Sentinel* feared that Altgeld's message would breed more anarchists "than all the speeches and writings of the men he had released."[39] The *Washington Evening Star* put up a mock political ballot for 1896 with Altgeld for president on the platform, "We are 'agin' the Government."[40] The *Chicago Tribune* collected a page of masterpieces of vituperation drawn from sixteen Illinois newspapers and fifty-three papers outside the state.[41] In these editorials, the vocabulary of opprobrium attained new levels.

Powerful individuals and organizations joined in the hue and cry. Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court attacked Altgeld in an address delivered at Woodstock, Connecticut. Choosing as his text, "Economic Individualism," he pointed to Altgeld as its arch-enemy in a struggle comparable to the Civil War. "Is Governor Altgeld," he asked, "waiting to be the Jefferson Davis of tomorrow?"[42] Later, in the campaign of 1896, Theodore Roosevelt was to declare that "Altgeld's hands were dyed in blood and [he] had condoned murder."[43] One Illinois club rejected Altgeld's application for membership.[44] Another attempted to expel him.[45] Many were certain that Altgeld had

[38] *New York Tribune*, July 9, 1893.

[39] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 28, 1893.

[40] Reprinted in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 30, 1893. The following year legislation excluding anarchists from entry into the United States was considered in Congress. *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 2 Sess. Sen., 1894, Vol. XXVI, p. 8215-17.

[41] *Chicago Tribune*, June 30, 1893. The hostile newspaper extracts were from such prominent dailies as the *New York Times*, *New York Herald*, *New York World*, *Washington Post*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Kansas City Star*, and many others.

[42] *Chicago Tribune*, July 5, 1893.

[43] McConnell, *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1934, p. 739.

[44] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1893.

[45] *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1893.

committed political suicide.[46]

A small band of liberals drawn from Europe and America wrote letters of heartfelt gratitude to Altgeld, congratulating him on his courageous action.[47] Labor bodies passed highly eulogistic resolutions, commending the support of the Governor to their cause.[48] These were the saving remnant, for the majority stood aloof, inarticulate or frankly hostile. One friend of Altgeld wrote to him:

> It is a sad commentary upon the so-called liberalism and intelligence of the American people that millions still deliberately shut their eyes and stop their ears to keep from being convinced. The prejudices of the ignorant, aroused and steadfastly nourished by a corrupt press, are not easily overcome.[49]

Once again the *Chicago Tribune* lent fuel to the denunciations of the message by printing an alleged exposé of the personal motives which influenced Altgeld in pardoning the anarchists and in his attacks upon Judge Gary. This tale, widely repeated, was evidently believed by many and therefore deserves some notice. It appeared under the caption, "Altgeld Displays His Venom." During April, 1889, the appellate court of which Judge Gary was a member, had set aside a judgment of the circuit court of Cook County which awarded Altgeld, then judge of the superior court, the

[46] The *New York Times* of June 28, 1893 was emphatic on this point; likewise the *Illinois State Register* of June 27 and 29, 1892, a leading Democratic paper, conceded that Altgeld would lose many adherents of the party.

[47] These letters of June, 1893, and thereafter are included in the Governor's Executive Files for June-December, 1893 (Archives Division, Illinois State Library).

[48] The *Chicago Tribune* of July 3 and 17, 1893, reported the strong endorsement of the Governor by the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly. Altgeld's action in the Lemont strike at this time won labor's approval and angered the conservative press. *New York Tribune*, July 4, 1893.

[49] William H. Holmes to Altgeld, Aug. 1, 1893, Governor's Executive Files. Walter Crane, writing to Lloyd from London, remarked: "I rejoice that a tardy act of justice has at last been done." Lloyd MSS, July 14, 1893.

sum of $26,494. The appellate judges, Garnett, Gary, and Moran, had attempted to sweeten their decision by declaring that the course pursued by Altgeld "was fair, open, and free from any grounds for censure."

This attempt to give him a "certificate of character" was added insult. Altgeld had then replied to the judges in a long letter protesting against the decision as a "moral outrage" and that it was an example of their setting aside settled questions on technical grounds. At no time did Altgeld regard judges as a class apart whom it was censurable taste, if not unpatriotic, to criticize.

The *Tribune* declared that since Judge Gary was the only one of the three judges now on the bench, Altgeld had sought to "get even with him" by pardoning the anarchists and attacking him personally. The editor remarked that any judge "even a poor Judge like Altgeld" should have had a greater sense of propriety than he showed in addressing a letter such as he did to brother-judges.[50]

Altgeld, in keeping with his policy of silence beneath attack, refused to comment upon these charges except to say that they were ridiculous. While it is possible that Altgeld's attack upon Gary in the message was partly due to some incident such as the *Tribune* letter indicated, the pardon of the anarchists cannot be attributed to such narrow motivation. Altgeld's career and philosophy of justice cannot be reconciled with any theory that he acted here on any save the highest motives. His remarks concerning Gary seem justified by an examination

[50] *Chicago Tribune*, June 29, 1893.

of the court record.[51]

To the newspapermen of Chicago and New York who asked him for his reaction to this abuse, Altgeld was defiant. He declared to a *Tribune* reporter: "I have done what I thought was right, and if my action was right, it will stand in the judgment of the people. . . . It is a noticeable fact that my critics employ abuse and in no case reason."[52] When a New York reporter asked him how he was enduring the criticism of the papers, he laughed and said: "Let them pitch in and give me the devil if they want to; they could not cut through my hide in three weeks with an axe."[53] He derided the talk of anarchist plots in Illinois and insisted that there never had been fifty anarchists in the whole state. The stories were the products of pseudo-detectives who were financed by wealthy business men.[54] Later in life, when asked whether he had ever regretted his pardon of the anarchists, he replied emphatically:

> Never! Never! If I had the matter to act upon again to-morrow, I'd do it over again I knew that in every civilized land, and especially in the United States, would ring out curses loud and bitter against me for what I did. I saw my duty and I did it. There was no evidence to convict those men The trial was a farce.[55]

[51] Such individuals as Jane Addams and Brand Whitlock have stated in their writings that they felt that the attack on Gary marred the pardon message. Even Clarence Darrow, who previously referred to Gary as "the Lord High Executioner," held a brief for the trial judge, stating that the latter labored under unusually difficult circumstances and that he was a "pretty good fellow." Interview with Darrow, June 10, 1935.

[52] *Chicago Tribune*, June 30, 1893.

[53] *New York Times*, June 28, 1893.

[54] Interview with Altgeld, *Chicago Times*, Aug. 31, 1893, and the *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1893; also reprinted in Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 405. The *Chicago Herald* of Jan. 4, 1892, printed an account of a meeting of 300 prominent citizens who met shortly after the Haymarket Affair and subscribed $115,000 to the police to stamp out anarchist plots and pledged $100,000 annually for the continuation of such work. This was paid until 1891. The cessation of payment inspired new anarchist raids on the part of the police. Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928* (New York, 1928), 114.

[55] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, March 16, 1902.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that Altgeld suffered severely from the journalistic abuse and general malignment of his motives. To Mrs. Altgeld he remarked that it might not be long before the Altgelds took up their abode by the wayside.[56] He had no illusions as to the effect of the message upon his career; nevertheless, he attempted to put his case before the public by the circulation of his famous message. With Schilling and Henry D. Lloyd, he arranged to distribute some fifty thousand copies to help the reform Democratic element. Trade unionist and populist support came readily.[57] Biographies of the Governor, together with the message, were printed in friendly newspapers.[58] Schilling prepared to organize a bureau for the systematic distribution of the pardon message.[59] Altgeld's correspondence shows how this publicity made many converts to his cause.

That the Governor's popularity had not been wholly dissipated was indicated on "Illinois Day," August 24, 1893, at the Chicago World's Fair. His arrival aroused general enthusiasm. During the afternoon, when he prepared to receive the citizens of the state in the main court under the dome, crowds poured in to shake hands with him. At the doors people fought to gain admission; a solid mass pressed about the square "as strong as the rock of Gibraltar." There was no place to move.[60]

In the fall elections, the local Republican machine decided to capitalize on the Gary issue. Judge Joseph E.

[56] Emma L. Altgeld to Mrs. H. D. Lloyd, July 14, 1893, Lloyd MSS.
[57] Schilling to Lloyd, Aug. 15, 1893, *ibid.*
[58] Henry Hall (editor of the *New York Tribune*) to Altgeld, Sept. 28, 1894, Governor's Executive Files.
[59] Schilling to Lloyd, Aug. 1, 1893, Lloyd MSS.
[60] *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Political Register for 1894* (Chicago, 1894), 185.

Gary was persuaded to run as a Republican candidate for a sixth term as judge of the superior court in a campaign that was obviously intended to undermine Altgeld. The editor of the *Chicago Tribune* declared, "A vote for Gary is a repudiation of Altgeld and the pardon message."[61] The issue, as stated by this journal, was whether the judiciary was dependent upon the executive power. During a Gary meeting held on October 25, a former Governor, Richard Oglesby, took up the cudgels in behalf of the judge and described him as above partiality or prejudice. He gave an enthusiastic description of the city's fight against anarchy. One judge at this meeting referred to Altgeld as a man who had "disgraced our government."[62] A special verse for this occasion was sung, "Pardon Altgeld has got to hide away."

This challenge was accepted by the Governor, who took charge of the opposition at his office in the Unity Building. Copies of his message were distributed among workmen. Henry D. Lloyd published an open letter to Gary, which was enthusiastically received by the liberal elements but appeared too late for adequate circulation.[63] Clarence Darrow assisted Altgeld in reprinting this letter in various Chicago newspapers. Samuel Fielden, one of the pardoned men, spoke at the Sunset Club to assist the reform Democrats.[64] The local machine of his party saw no profit in following Altgeld's leadership by putting up good candidates, but preferred to support personal choices. Thus John Barton Payne, the able Democratic candidate, failed to receive support from this

[61] *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 4, 1893.
[62] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1893.
[63] Altgeld to Lloyd, Nov. 7, 1893, Lloyd MSS.
[64] Darrow to Lloyd, Nov. 9, 1893, *ibid.*

element. On election day, Gary won by a vote of 78,912 to 73,777.[65] It was not a clear-cut victory, but the Republican newspapers interpreted it as a rebuke for Altgeld.

After the anarchist pardon, partisan newspapers attacked Altgeld's policy in the granting of pardons under any circumstances; they referred to him as "John Pardon Altgeld." Immediately after the June pardon, Brand Whitlock approached the Governor with the papers concerning a young man in the Joliet Penitentiary who was dying of tuberculosis. His mother petitioned that he might die at home. Without looking at the papers, Altgeld shook his head: "No, no, I will not pardon any more. The people are opposed to it; they do not believe in mercy; they love revenge; they want the prisoners punished to the bitterest extremity." Later, he apologized for his remarks and asked for the papers. He was told that the boy had just died.[66] The effect of such an incident upon the sensitive mind of Altgeld can easily be imagined.

The famous pardon message of 1893 was but one of a series of decisive blows that Altgeld struck in behalf of the common man. Despite the overwhelming indictment of the Governor in the national press, a large inarticulate group of humbler citizens intuitively recognized their champion. It would be a mistake to conclude that Altgeld became a political cipher after 1893. In the councils of his party he became increasingly dominant and, despite bipartisan opposition, succeeded in enacting a program of state reform that attracted national attention. His party leadership enabled him to write the

[65] *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1893.
[66] Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, 76-79.

notable Democratic platform of 1896 and only the constitutional technicality of his German birth prevented his nomination for president. In that election, although defeated, he secured a gubernatorial vote considerably in excess of Bryan's in Illinois. It had been necessary for his opponents to employ wholesale corruption at the polls in order to insure the defeat of the Springfield "Anarchist." For labor and its allies the deed of 1893 went far to obliterate the defeat of 1886.

AN ILLINOIS STATE AGENT IN WASHINGTON

The Activities of Harry Dewitt Cook, 1865–1871

BY ROBERT D. OCHS

DURING the Civil War and the following decade, the relations between the federal government and the states of the Union became increasingly numerous and complicated. This developed from the states' cooperation in the raising of the army, the financing of the war, and the later aid for the veterans and their dependents.

To carry out the new relations with the federal government the states had many agents stationed in Washington. In the postwar period, Illinois' chief agent was Harry Dewitt Cook, who represented the state in the collection of the United States bonus for the veterans and in the acquisition of the money due Illinois for its participation in the war.

Before going to Washington in 1865, Harry Dewitt Cook had lived in Illinois only fourteen years, but during this brief period he rose to a prominent position in the state. He had moved to Illinois from New York when the Illinois Central Railroad was opened. His first home was on a farm near Hudson, from which place he moved to Kappa where he was a grain dealer and station master. By 1860 his land holdings had increased

greatly in both McLean and Woodford counties.[1]

In less than a decade after moving to Illinois, Cook was successful in state politics. In the election of November 6, 1860, which ushered Lincoln and the Republican Party into Washington, Cook was elected on the new party's ticket to the general assembly of Illinois from the forty-second district.[2]

A few months after the legislature convened, the United States was embroiled in the Civil War. Harry Cook was not the type of politician who was content to remain in Springfield while the war was being waged. In August, 1861, when Col. T. Lyle Dickey organized at Ottawa the Fourth Illinois Cavalry, Woodford County was represented by Company G which was commanded throughout the war by Capt. Harry Dewitt Cook.[3] After campaigning for thirty-nine months with the Army of the West, from Fort Henry to Vicksburg, Captain Cook was promoted to the rank of major and was mustered out of the service in 1864.[4]

With a long war record to his credit, Major Cook was elected a second time to the state legislature, the twenty-fourth general assembly, which convened on January 2, 1865.[5] This legislature, seeing the efficiency and popularity of the Sanitary Bureau's aid to soldiers in the field, passed a law establishing another state agency to aid and benefit the volunteers of Illinois. On February 16, 1865, the legislature passed a law authorizing the Governor to appoint and commission military agents, not exceeding six in number, at a salary of

[1] Bloomington *Weekly Pantagraph*, Nov. 14, 1873.
[2] "Political Statistics" (Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana).
[3] *The Past and Present of Woodford County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 486.
[4] *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois, 1861-1866* (Springfield, 1886), VII: 635-37.
[5] John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1892), II: 716.

$1,200 per annum. These agents were to "be stationed at such places, within the rebellious states or elsewhere, as, in their opinion, will best promote the interests of the volunteer forces in the United States army from this state."[6] Their duties were to be prescribed from time to time by the Governor.

Although the law stated that no more than six agents were to be appointed, Governor Oglesby appointed and commissioned as colonels, nine men. Two of these, Colonels Cook and Bumgardner, were sent to New York where they spent the spring of 1865 relieving the wants of the Illinois soldiers in the hospitals there. On May 15, 1865, Governor Oglesby wrote the following letter to Colonel Cook:

May 15 5

Col H D Cook
New York City—

DEAR SIR: I am glad to hear from you and Bumgardner. I believe you have been doing good, and you must both remain as long at least as you can do good. You are in the right place but one of you must go to Washington City. Not knowing where you were I to day sent to Col Crawford $500 to be used for our soldiers at Washington and Alexandra

Write often and fully—Col Newton Crawford is at Patent Office Washington City. You can write to him his duties will terminate as soon as one of you arrive there. He will then turn over to you all unexpended funds, as one Agent there will be enough

Very Respectfully Yours,
R. J. OGLESBY,
Governor[7]

It was Colonel Cook's good fortune to take the

[6] *Public Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly* (Springfield, 1865), 126-27.

[7] Oglesby Letter Books, I: 86 (Archives Division, Illinois State Library, Springfield).

Washington position. Colonel Bumgardner remained in New York until August, when he went to New Orleans and Mobile. At the capital, Colonel Cook continued his regular duties as Military State Agent; but after the Illinois soldiers were out of the hospitals and on their way home, Governor Oglesby retained Cook to look after the veterans' and their families' claims for bounties and pensions from the national government. These new duties were first suggested to Cook by Governor Oglesby in a letter dated August 18, 1865:

> I suppose you have but little to do in the line of looking after the personal of our soldiers. We have been thinking you might be of great service there in looking after the claims of Soldiers and soldiers Widows, if the labor can be reduced to any plan so that you can in some way look after all claims which may be sent to you for settlement, it will be a pretty large job, and require a great deal of patience and labor. Suppose you think about it and write me your opinion on the subject. Go and see other Agents there from other States and find out what they do and how they proceed.[8]

Cook followed the Governor's suggestions and by December had established himself in an office at 280 F Street to collect "any claims which Illinois Soldiers may have against the Government free of charge to the soldier."[9] Orders and instructions came from the Governor and the Adjutant General of Illinois, I. N. Haynie, to whom Cook made monthly reports and submitted his bills for expenses. There was no increase in the $100 per month pay for all the additional work that was to be done.

At first the business came in slowly but it soon increased as Illinoisans found out that there was an agent

[8] Oglesby Letter Books, II: 247.

[9] Cook to Franklin Fiske, Dec. 30, 1865, H. D. Cook Letter Books, I: 32 (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield). Most of the material in this article comes from this collection, which consists of five copy letter books.

at Washington who would collect their bounties, back pay, and pensions free of charge. Cook was soon busy answering questions, looking up claims, presenting claims, and sending directions for the soldiers.

The following letter giving directions to Capt. Franklin Fiske of Lincoln indicates the great amount of red tape with which Colonel Cook had to deal:

> I inclose herewith blank affidavits, power of attorney, & pay rolls which you will please fill up and return to me together with your discharge and I will settle up your accounts, get your pay and send it by express as you may direct. The affidavits you will readily understand how to fill up also power of attorney. The pay rolls will be filled by Paymaster except affidavit on the back & certificate on the face including description of Servant, by whom last paid and to what time. —Sign them as late Capt., &c. Power of attorney & pay rolls need no Rev. Stamp, all others five cent Stamp. Affidavits made before a Justice of the Peace or Notary Public *must have* certificate of some Court of Record to their official character. It will give me great pleasure on the return of these papers to close your accounts as soon as possible.[10]

After Cook received the many blanks there was the task of seeing the claims through various departments, as back pay, pensions, and bounties were settled in different ones. To collect back pay the property accounts of the veteran had to be approved by the Quartermaster General, then a letter of non-indebtedness had to be obtained from the third auditor of the Treasury Department before the paymaster would issue the allowance due.

Most of the claims did not go through their respective departments very easily. Many applicants were ineligible for bounty or pension, and many accounts of those seeking back pay were approved with difficulty. Some of the

[10] Dec. 20, 1865, Cook Letter Books, I: 10.

applications had to be made over because they were not filled out properly, because an affidavit was not properly certified by a justice of the peace, or because the revenue stamp was not included. Cook had great trouble making the soldiers understand that their discharges had to be denied because the discharges were lost, and these could not be duplicated, nor could any certificate be given in lieu of them.

Cook's time was well filled answering letters of inquiry and pushing claims through the departments. He had to write many nights until ten o'clock to keep up his correspondence. It took from nine months to a year after an application was accepted before payment could be made. This delay provoked many and Cook sometimes answered the petulant in the following irritated manner:

> One would think to read your letter that you supposed that the Departments or myself had nothing to do but take up your claim and settle it at once. Your claim will be settled as soon as possible, and as soon as settled your pay will be sent you with great pleasure that is all that can be done and it is no use to keep writing about it.[11]

Colonel Cook put in his letter books only one of his monthly reports to Adjutant General Haynie. It is for the month of April, 1866, and is probably a typical report of the collections and expenses made by Cook during any month from his installation as collector of claims to August, 1866, when the new bounty law was passed. During the month 22 claims were distributed and 58 were on hand from the close of the month before, thereby making 80 in charge for the month of April. Of this number, 24 were closed, leaving 56 on hand for the month of May. He declared:

> As heretofore numerous letters of enquiry in relation to claims

[11] Cook to William Ogden, April 23, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 434.



"Reception of $100 by Myself and Family"

filed long ago, missing Soldiers, errors in Pension certificates &c. have been received and attended to as promptly as possible; fully occupying my time early and late. I have been able to meet all of these demands without serious delay.[12]

The expense account for the month ran as follows:

To Rent of Office &c. during the Month	$30.00
To Board during the Month	25.00
To Blanks of William H. Moore	1.25
To Daily Chronicle during the month	1.00
To Fare on Horse cars	2.10
To Rent of P O Box to June 30th	1.50
To Postage Stamps	6.39
To One (1) Gross Pens	1.25
To Internal Revenue Stamps	.10
	$68.59[13]

One of Cook's problems was to save the soldiers from the unscrupulous men, mostly lawyers, who collected the claims in the same manner as the state agent and then charged their clients exorbitant fees. Cook had to write many letters explaining that he was not a claim agent and was not working for claim agents. Being a state agent, his claims were given preference and settled in one-fourth the time it took the claim agents.

Naturally, the claim agents had many reasons for disliking Cook. He took business away from them, refused to aid them, and wrote inquirers that claim agents were "entitled to five per cent for collecting and no more." Many soldiers and widows of soldiers wrote to Cook asking him to investigate their claims which were in the hands of claim agents from whom they had received no money. Cook usually had to reply that the

[12] Cook to I. N. Haynie, April 30, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 485.
[13] *Ibid.*, 487.

agents had "skipped town" with the collection. The following excerpt from a letter is an answer to one of these inquiries:

With a note from Jeremiah Evarts I received power of attorney from you to collect the amount from Harvey and Collins (late Claim Agents in this city), which they had collected from the Government of the United States for you. I have investigated the matter fully and find they received a certificate from the 2d Auditor for $215 42–100 dollars, and as you gave them authority to draw the money on it they did so and the Certificate is returned paid; see Slip enclosed from Auditors Office. Neither of these men are in the city, neither have they any Office here, Collins went to New Orleans three or four years ago and Harvey is said to have gone to New York City or Chicago so you see I can do nothing for you. I am truly sorry that you have been thus dealt with but cannot help it. I return the power of Attorney. Should I learn the address of either I will advise you.[14]

Upon one occasion Colonel Cook sent his son, Frank, who was in Washington with him, to Boston to collect money and discharges from a claim agent who had refused to turn money over to his clients, Illinois soldiers. Such interferences with claim agents caused the clan to report of the Illinois State Agency that it was "a humbug and a trick to get business."

The negro soldiers who were eligible for bounty found a great friend in the Illinois State Agent. All colored soldiers who were free on April 19, 1861 were on the same footing as white soldiers. Many claim agents took advantage of their ignorance, but Cook tried to protect their interests. In one instance he wrote:

I will hold the case beyond the Power of any mortal man to Swindle a poor ignorant colored boy, but especially one who had sense enough to fight Rebels and aid in preserving the Govern-

[14] Cook to Mrs. Phebe S. Jordan, Dec. 11, 1866, Cook Letter Books, IV: 459.



"That $100 Bounty You Sent Me is 'Gone Up'"

ment I shall allow nothing to be done until I see the Darkey all right.[15]

By defending colored Illinois troops Cook became involved in a quarrel with the Illinois Sanitary Commission and its secretary, Col. John R. Wood. Cook was on friendly terms with the Commission at first, but during the month of February, 1866, he was "almost daily besieged" by colored soldiers of the 29th Illinois Cavalry who were anxious about their pay. They had left their discharges in Springfield with a Mr. Eno, sanitary claim agent, from whom they had received nothing. Cook wrote the details to Adjutant General Haynie, adding that he could not understand why the discharges were left in Springfield when the Sanitary Commission knew the soldiers were coming to Washington and that he was there to collect for them. Cook had promised the soldiers an answer from General Haynie within ten days.

General Haynie gave Cook's letter to Colonel Wood who, infuriated, wrote a brusque reply telling Cook he was no friend of the soldiers and the "idea of sending our claims to you to collect cannot be entertained for a moment."[16] Cook tried to avoid a personal quarrel when he answered the letter, but he allowed himself "to notice a few remarks." He accused Wood of misinterpreting when the latter read into Haynie's letter the implication that Cook accused Eno of retaining the money in his hands. The letter ended by Cook's offering his services to the Sanitary Commission, in moderate language. By the end of March the affair was settled and Cook wrote Colonel Wood: "On the whole I think

[15] Cook to J. C. Stone, Feb. 1, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 122.
[16] March 12, 1866, *ibid.*, 250.

you are really a better man and of more consequence than you represent yourself to be."[17]

Many of Colonel Cook's letters were written to the Secretary of War and to President Johnson, asking them to reconsider charges and set aside court-martial verdicts against certain soldiers so that they could receive honorable discharges. Without an honorable discharge no pay, allowance, or bounty could be obtained. Cook was not always successful in his attempts.

Besides Cook's regular duties which he performed for the soldiers, he tried to obtain jobs for some of them or their widows and to help others keep their jobs. A letter to the Hon. H. P. H. Bromwell asked him to use his efforts to get the Secretary of War to raise Major Search to the rank of brevet colonel and to get him an appointment with the Freedman's Bureau in Texas. Cook and Search had been majors in the same cavalry regiment. Colonel Cook also tried to obtain a position in the Freedman's Bureau for Mrs. A. S. Everett, who wanted to teach freedmen in the South.

For Austin H. Fowler, Cook wrote a letter to the Postmaster General, A. W. Randall, asking him not to remove Mr. Fowler from the position of postmaster at Wenona, Illinois. "Surely an old faithful soldier should not be displaced, to make way for one who never did any thing for his country, either at home or in the field of conflict and of blood, as well as of honor."[18] A remonstrance signed by many citizens of Wenona accompanied the letter.

Cook wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, defending C. P. Blackmor of the sec-

[17] March 25, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 311.
[18] Oct. 25, 1866, *ibid.*, IV: 43.

ond auditor's office, against whom charges of dishonorable conduct had appeared in the newspapers. He also tried to befriend a war orphan who had come all the way to Washington from Chicago to collect his father's back pay and bounty. As the boy had no papers, he could not make a settlement. The most Cook could do was to write a letter of recommendation to help him find employment.

Cook suggested to Illinois congressmen various bills to afford further aid to ex-soldiers. One was to B. C. Cook asking him to "introduce a Resolution at an early day giving our Soldiers pay for the day on which they receive their final payment."[19] Another proposal was to get a law passed so that claimants of wagoners killed in the army could collect pensions.

On July 28, 1866, Congress passed another bounty law, which immensely increased Cook's work. This law provided additional bounty of $100 to soldiers honorably discharged after serving no less than three years from April 19, 1861, if they were not entitled to receive more than $100 under previous laws. Any such soldier who was honorably discharged before the end of three years due to wounds received in line of duty was also eligible.[20] Soldiers who were enlisted for two years from April 14, 1861 received fifty dollars extra bounty. The law provided that all applications must be made under oath and that soldiers who had sold, assigned, or loaned their discharge papers were not entitled to the bounty. Regulations for collection were to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

[19] Dec. 15, 1866, Cook Letter Books, IV: 511.

[20] *United States Statutes at Large*, 1 Sess., 1866 (Boston, 1868), Vol. XIV, ch. 296, sec. 12, p. 322.

Immediately letters of inquiry and applications began to pour in to the Illinois State Agent's office. By a special order of the War Department, a board of three officers had been appointed to prepare regulations to carry out the law. Since the orders from this board were not approved until September, Colonel Cook had to answer inquiries as best he could and issue application blanks which he thought would be acceptable when the orders came out.

By October the orders were issued. The blanks Cook had issued were acceptable. So many requests for applications now came in that a thousand blanks were used in four days; but most of the applications were not acceptable, because the applicants were not entitled to additional bounty or because there were inaccuracies in the petitions. Most of them were returned because the official character of the justice of the peace or notary public, before whom the affidavits were attested and sworn, was not proved. Many applications were returned to relatives of the deceased soldiers; for only widows, children, and parents were eligible heirs for this bounty. Seamen were also unable to collect from this additional bounty law.

Under this new law great amounts were collected each month by the Illinois agency. During the month of August, 1867, $17,638.15 was collected; and $18,923.51 was collected during the first fourteen days of the month of December, 1867.

The month after the new bounty law was passed Colonel Cook wrote Governor Oglesby asking him for assistance in running the agency:

> Letters are pouring in from all parts of the State, indicating that the business of the Agency will at once be far beyond the ability

of any one man to meet and perform the necessary labor, hence I will be obliged to have additional help I have worked early and late the entire season, in fact ever since I have been here, and have until recently been able to keep the business very well closed up, but I cannot stand it to work as I have for several months past I desire also to say that in order to place this agent on anything like equality with those of other States as to Salary, the amount allowed me as Salary should at least be doubled. If I am to remain here to take charge of the Agency for any great length of time I desire to arrange so as to bring my family here which cannot be done on my present allowance.[21]

In reply to this letter Governor Oglesby wrote:

If you shall require assistance, secure it on the best terms and I will send you funds As to the increase of your pay I do not know that I ought to venture to interfere with this as it has been fixed by an act of the Legislature and does not seem to have been left to my discretion.[22]

Colonel Cook accepted the Governor's decision and hired an assistant, J. Fishback, who did much of the letter writing for the agency, especially the routine letters. Soon the work increased and another clerk had to be hired; Frank Cook, the colonel's older son, who was in Washington with his father, was given this job. Such clerk hire cost the state an additional $150 a month.

In October, Colonel Cook wrote Governor Oglesby and asked him for a month's vacation:

I also desire to say that it is now a full year since I have been home, and I respectfully ask leave of absence for thirty days for that purpose. An order from your excellency for me to report in Illinois in *Person* would be very acceptable, and I think is honestly due me as I have actually performed at least the work of two men during the past year My Son is now with me and he will be able to keep business going ahead during my absence. He will need help of course, but I can arrange with Mr. Fishback of our State to

[21] Aug. 4, 1866, Cook Letter Books, III: 14.
[22] Aug. 15, 1866, Oglesby Letter Books, V: 479.

write some four hours a day which may be sufficient.[23]

The Colonel received this vacation; and while he was away, from the middle of October to the middle of November, Frank Cook and J. Fishback ran the agency. Upon Colonel Cook's return he again requested an increase of salary, which he hoped the legislature would provide in their next session. He informed Governor Oglesby that the Kentucky agent got "$4,000 and liberal allowances for clerk hire and rent."

When Colonel Cook first asked Governor Oglesby for a clerk in Washington, he also suggested: "If our State had, say two agents to secure and prepare these claims for one year they would nearly all be made in that time and thousands would be secured that must and will fall into the hands of claim agents." Cook wanted the other agent to be posted in Springfield. He could send the claims to Cook for collection.

The Governor did not establish this agent at Springfield; so Colonel Cook, who had refused to assist the claim agents before this time, now asked claim agents and lawyers to come to his aid. Cook sent the application blanks to the claim agents who had them filled out and returned to him for collection. This was quite satisfactory to the claim agents for they were "entirely out" so far as the collection of additional bounty was concerned. Bounty could be collected directly by a claim agent only if he had a proper license on file in Washington.

Cook always wrote the agents that he was doing this with the understanding that they charge the soldiers a fair price for their trouble but that they charge nothing

[23] Oct. 2, 1866, Cook Letter Books, III: 504.

for services he rendered at the capital. To a soldier who was dissatisfied with the charge an agent was asking, Cook wrote the following:

> The law granting the additional bounty to soldiers, puts no limits on fees for collecting the same. In cases where soldiers are charged exorbitant fees, as you state, I would advise that they send me Powers of Attorney authorizing me to collect their claims, and in said Powers of Attorney insert a revocation of all former Powers of Attorney in the cases.[24]

All during his administration, Governor Oglesby tried to get the general assembly of Illinois to pass legislation which would recognize Colonel Cook as a special state agent in Washington. This would have made possible an increase in his pay. Under the prevailing circumstances the salary had to remain at $100 per month as prescribed by the law establishing military state agents.

On August 15, 1866, Governor Oglesby wrote Cook: "I have determined to retain you on duty, with your consent until the Legislature of 1867 shall meet and have time to consider the subject."[25] After the legislature met, the Governor had to write the following:

> After useing all proper efforts to secure the passage of the Act recognizing your office and to make the necessary appropriations to sustain it, the Senate at the last moment of the Session killed the bill. The House sustained it heartily. We made three trials in the Senate and failed each time. The contingent war fund appropriation of $100,000 expires by limitation July 28th. Under the new appropriation I am only allowed $10,000 for all purposes for two years and can use only a small portion of it for your office. Especially do I feel embarrassed on the subject since the Legislature after repeated efforts, refused to make an appropriation, as I had distinctly stated in my regular message. I would not feel at liberty to

[24] Cook to N. J. Cornew, Oct. 24, 1866, Cook Letter Books, IV: 25.
[25] Oglesby Letter Books, V: 478.

continue your office at Washington unless the Legislature would in some way recognize it or my right to do so.

I will be obliged to you to inform me as soon as you can, how long it will take you to finish and dispose of all business now in your office. You will decline to receive any new applications until I can determine, after hearing from you, how long you will be required to remain at Washington and what the expenses will be to finish up what is now in your office. I regret the result and did all I could to avoid it. Your services have been of great value (in my opinion) to the State, no man could have done more or better.[26]

There was so much business on hand and so much coming in at this time that the agency could not be closed. For this reason Governor Oglesby wrote Cook on May 24, 1867, that a proclamation was to be issued the next day for an extra session of the legislature to meet on June 11. Another attempt to pass a law appropriating money for the Washington agency was to be made at that time. Again the legislature refused to make provision for the agency; therefore the Governor ordered it closed by the end of the year. New claims that could not be collected by the end of the year were not to be accepted.

By the winter of 1867 the Governor changed his mind and wrote Cook:

What I prefer is this, that you continue on duty without regard to closing the office on the first of January such as has been contemplated. If convenient to you, you will continue on duty at Washington as Military State Agent until further orders, but receive no new military business.[27]

Cook was determined to remain only if arrangements could be made to bring his wife and youngest daughter to Washington. In February he was informed by Adju-

[26] March 4, 1867, Oglesby Letter Books, VI: 188.

[27] Dec. 2, 1867, *ibid.*, VII: 505.

tant General Haynie that he was to remain in Washington until the end of Governor Oglesby's term, January 1, 1869. Immediately Mrs. Cook was told to rent or sell the house in Kappa and come to Washington with their daughter, Ida.

During the year 1868, although not many new claims were accepted, many claims were settled. In the year from August 1, 1867 to August 1, 1868, 365 claims were collected. The total amount collected was $35,260.25. Nine hundred and sixty-eight letters were received and 1,025 letters were forwarded.

In June, 1868, Colonel Cook and his son, Frank, had to make an explanation to Governor Oglesby. The Governor endorsed and forwarded a letter to Cook from James Walker and Jonah Flory. These two gentlemen accused Colonel Cook of having handed over claims to his son for collection and they accused Frank of charging for his work in collecting these claims. It was true that some claims were turned over to Frank for collection; but Colonel Cook wrote the Governor that since orders had been given that no new claims should be accepted after August, 1867, he did not see any harm in letting his son prepare "a letter which was sent by him to those claimants whose cases gave no indication of being adjusted during the life of the Agency."[28] Frank offered to collect the claims for only half the ordinary fee. The Colonel "deemed it not more than just that he [Frank] should have an opportunity of doing any business that would not interfere with his duties as clerk in the Agency."[29] Cook pointed out to the Governor that only thirty-two claims were transferred

[28] June 27, 1868, Cook Letter Books, VIII: 23.

[29] *Ibid.*, 24.

to Frank and that the agency had collected and settled free of charge 167 new claims, worth $17,948.89, since August 1, 1867, "when—strictly speaking—no new business should have been received."[30]

As the end of the year approached, Colonel Cook made plans to close the Illinois agency. On December 3, 1868, he wrote Governor Oglesby:

> My plan for closing Soldiers claims is as follows. (If aproved by you) All uncompleted claims (and there are very few) I propose to return to claimants giving them full instructions what to do—I shall make a list of all unsettled claims in the various Departments, and file the same advising the proper Officers of each of the closing of the Agency and request them to correspond direct with the claimant. I shall also inform each claimant that the Agency is closed, also where his claim is on file, and the name of the person to correspond with, and that the Department has been notified to correspond with him direct. I have the discharges and checks of a few soldiers that have been returned to me uncalled for —these I propose to bring to Springfield and turn over to the Adjutant General, and so inform the Department where they were paid. I also propose to sell at best price I can get the few articles of office furniture I have purchased taking a bill of them and credit the State with the amount and get ready to leave here on the night of the 31st of the present month.[31]

To all those sending in new claims, Colonel Cook wrote that the agency was closing; therefore he could not accept them, but his son, F. L. Cook, who had been with him for the past two years, would prosecute the cases for five per cent.

On December 26, 1868, formal letters were written to the Second Auditor of the Treasury Department, the Adjutant General of the United States Army, the Commissioner of Pensions, and the Paymaster General, telling them that the agency would close on January 1,

[30] Cook Letter Books, VIII: 25.

[31] *Ibid.*, 568.

1869. All further communications were to be directed to the claimants themselves.

Governor Oglesby asked Colonel Cook for a summary report of the expenses of the agency and the collections. This report, which Cook made out on December 21, 1868, was sent to Governor Oglesby by December 25, so that it could be included in the Governor's last message to the legislature. The expenses of the agency were reported as follows:

March 1—December 1, 1865		$1,374.23
December 1, 1865—December 31, 1866	2,073.53	
Salary of agent for above period	1,300.00	
Total expenses. December 1865—January, 1866	3,373.53	3,373.53
Expenses from December 31, 1866 to November 30, 1868	4,996.72	
Estimated expenses for December 1868	225.00	
Total expenses not including salary	5,221.72	
Deduct for office furniture sold	35.00	
Net expenses	5,186.72	
Agents salary for twenty four months	2,400.00	
Total Expense, December 31, 1866—December 31, 1868	7,586.72	7,586.72
Total expenses, March 1, 1865—January 1, 1869		$12,334.48[32]

From December 1, 1865 to December 21, 1868, 4,893 claims were received by Colonel Cook. During the same period 4,761 claims were settled, leaving only 132 unsettled. The total value of the claims collected, including bounties, back pay, and pensions, was $507, 831.74.

[32] Report of War Claim Agent, H. D. Cook, Dec. 21, 1868 (Box 109, MS Reports, Archives Division, Illinois State Library).

Nineteen thousand, one hundred and eighteen letters were received, 20,064 letters were forwarded, and 6,345 application blanks were sent out.

It will be seen that the expense of collecting soldiers claims amounts to a fraction less than *two per cent*, allowing that no other business had been done, but the above correspondence shows a large amount of enquiries outside of claimants who filed claims through the agency.[33]

In his report to the general assembly on January 4, 1869, Governor Oglesby brought Colonel Cook's case to the attention of the assemblymen:

Twice before I have appealed to the General Assembly to recognize his services at Washington, and although no act was passed authorizing him to remain on duty there, I continued to feel it a duty to our soldiers to continue the agency. He has received from the treasury one hundred dollars per month for his services. The expenses of clerk hire, room rent, fuel, stationery, etc. have been paid from the contingent fund to be expended under direction of the Governor.[34]

On January 5, 1869, Governor Oglesby sent Colonel Cook the following order:

January 5th 9.

Special Order—

Col H D Cook Military State Agent will deposite the Books records of claims and papers belonging to his office of Military State Agent in the Office of the Adjutant General of the State and take receipt for the Same.

Said Books, records and papers will remain in the Custody of the Adjutant General as a part of the files and records of that office.

R. J. Oglesby

By order of the Governor
Geo H Harlow
Private Secretary[35]

[33] Report of War Claim Agent, H. D. Cook, Dec. 21, 1868.

[34] *Reports made to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 26 Sess., 1869 (Springfield, 1869), I: 18.

[35] Oglesby Letter Books, VIII: 408.

Upon receipt of this order, Colonel Cook's duty as military state agent came to an end, after having collected over a half-million dollars for his fellow Illinois soldiers and their heirs.

Colonel Cook's activities in Washington as a fiscal agent were not a part of his regular duties as a military state agent. His position as collector of Illinois state claims was not established by an act of the legislature but by an appointment from Governor Oglesby. Cook was to use his "spare "time in presenting the claims which Illinois held against the United States for the state's participation in the Civil War. It was his duty to present and justify claims which the national government had rejected during Governor Yates's administration.

These state claims were based on the law Congress passed on July 27, 1861 which declared:

> The Secretary of the Treasury . . . is hereby directed . . . to pay to the Governor of any State, or to his duly authorized agents, the costs, charges, and expenses properly incurred by such State for enrolling, subsisting, clothing, supplying, arming, equiping, paying, and transporting its troops employed in aiding to suppress the present insurrection against the United States, to be settled upon proper vouchers, to be filed and passed upon by the proper accounting officers of the Treasury.[36]

Before Colonel Cook was appointed as collector of these claims, Governor Yates had made frequent journeys to Washington and had sent agents there. During the war, Thomas H. Campbell, James C. Conkling, and Col. J. S. Loomis had aided the Governor in the collection of $3,726,792.87.[37] In 1865, $468,265.98 more was

[36] *United States Statutes at Large*, 1 Sess., 1861 (Boston, 1863), Vol. XII, ch. 21, p. 276.

[37] *Reports made to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 24 Sess., 1865 (Springfield, 1865), I: 22.

collected from the United States Treasury. In 1866, when Colonel Cook was appointed fiscal agent by Governor Oglesby, a fifth Illinois installment of $55,902.19 was entered and $83,543.16 was to be collected *from disallowed* claims of previous installments.[38]

On March 2, 1866, after Colonel Cook had been established as a military state agent in Washington since August of the preceding year, Governor Oglesby wrote him this letter:

> Dear Sir,
>
> On the 19th of January last I wrote a letter to Mr. McCullogh requesting and urging him to allow and pay a part at least of the State Claim against the Government, I enclosed the letter to you and requested you to deliver it in person to him on the same day and requested a reply from you. As yet I have not heard from you on the subject. Will you be good enough to let me hear from you, and also what progress you are making jenerally—We are entirely out of funds here for ordinary State purposes.
>
> Very Respectfully Yours
> R. J. Oglesby
> *Governor*[39]

On March 6, Cook informed the Governor that the letter written on January 19 had not been received; therefore he had had no interview with Secretary McCulloch but he had had frequent ones with the third auditor, John Wilson, and James Fishback, the clerk in charge of these claims. At the time, the Secretary of War had caused all state claims to be suspended until they could be examined by a Mr. Ketchum. The Illinois claims were before the War Department examiners but Cook was "informed by Mr. Fishback that some of the states have never had any settlement of their claims and

[38] Illinois War Claims Special Settlement No. 5720, Harry Dewitt Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault, Springfield).

[39] Oglesby Letter Books, IV: 570.

as Illinois claims have been largely refunded the Probability is that claims of other States. . . will be first considered."[40]

On March 16, Cook received the delayed letter which Governor Oglesby had sent in January. With John Wood, the ex-governor, who was in Washington, Cook again visited the treasury and was able to persuade the third auditor, John Wilson, to give Mr. Ketchum permission to drop the Kentucky claim which he was examining and start work on the fifth Illinois installment.

On March 31, Cook wrote the Governor that the latter's letter to Secretary McCulloch had been delivered. He stated further:

> The Secretary says he knows "Governor Oglesby well and that he is one of the most persistent men in the World and that we Illinoisans are the hardest men in the World to get rid of" I said to him we are very easy to get rid of only give us what we ask for and as we do not design to ask anything wrong of course we are rather hard to get rid of without geting it.[41]

Cook proposed that at least a third of the state's claim, about twenty thousand dollars, be advanced in a short time. When he left the Secretary he felt assured this would be done.

The Governor replied that Cook's work was satisfactory but he should not forget to urge the old claim as well as the new installment. He also advised his agent to "keep on good terms with McCulloch and Subordinates."[42]

The claim did not go through the department as quickly as was expected, for in April the entire claim

[40] Cook to Oglesby, March 6, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 223.
[41] *Ibid.*, 339.
[42] April 4, 1866, Oglesby Letter Books, IV: 753.

was suspended and had "to undergo the administrative scrutiny of the War Department."[43] This meant that a long delay was unavoidable. It irritated the Illinois agent and the Governor greatly, since "these claims by an Act of the Legislature were placed as so much money to the fund from which the current expenses of the State Government were to be paid."[44]

It was not until a year later that any of the claim was allowed. On April 23, 1867, the Treasury Department allowed a payment of $25,680.68 on the fifth installment, and on June 8, a check for this amount was sent the Governor. By August 17, $71,629.04 was approved from the old claim of $83,543.16.[45] A draft for this amount was sent the Governor in December. This made the collection by Cook during the year 1867 total $97,309.72.

For collecting this amount, Cook sent the Governor a bill, charging two and a half per cent. He was determined not to remain in Washington at his pay of $100 a month and perform the double duties of military and fiscal state agent. To his friend, John Harper, he wrote:

> I sent forward a bill for only 2 1-2 per cent for collecting, which I hope he will allow, if he refuses to do so I shall try and get off home as soon as possible as it is no use for me to remain here on amount received for after paying home expenses I can save nothing, and I can get a living at home. Besides I feel humiliated to be doing work for the state at less than half paid agents of other States, merely for collecting State war claims, alone, and have all their expenses paid at Willards &c.[46]

Governor Oglesby was well pleased with Cook's

[43] Cook to Oglesby, April 12, 1866, Cook Letter Books, I: 382.
[44] Cook to Wilson, April 10, 1866, *ibid.*, 368.
[45] Illinois State War Claims of 1867-70, Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault).
[46] Dec. 14, 1867, Cook Letter Books, IX: 96.

work and the bill for collection was allowed. On January 2, 1868, a draft for $2,426.75 was sent Colonel Cook for the collection of "$97,309.72 on the War claims of Illinois vs. the United States."[47]

When Cook wrote his wife the good news that Governor Oglesby had approved the bill, he ordered:

> Under no circumstances *tell any one*. I do this for two reasons, 1st that the Governor may not be censured by those who have no knowledge of the Value of my services to the State in collecting the war claim, and 2nd because I do not want any one but you to know about our means.[48]

In order that the people of Illinois would have knowledge of Cook's service a special dispatch from Springfield appeared in the *Chicago Republican* and the *Chicago Tribune* on December 23, 1867. No mention was made that the Illinois agent received almost twenty-five hundred dollars for his troubles. The *Chicago Tribune* article appeared on the front page and read as follows:

> Colonel H. D. Cook, Military State Agent at Washington, has just transmitted to the Governor $71,692 in addition to the $5,632[49] received last June by the Governor from him, making the amount of $100,000 collected by the State Agent. The amount is for payments of claims presented by the State during the war, which had been disallowed, and was considered beyond the hope of being settled. Colonel Cook has assiduously labored over the details of small items, collecting proofs, &c., in addition to his duties in behalf of the soldiers and soldiers' orphans, and on a salary of one hundred dollars per month. The Governor, under the circumstances, should feel justified in having assumed the responsibility of retaining him in his duties at Washington, although the Legislature disregarded his recommendations in this respect, and refused to authorize the continuance of the agency. It is hoped the State Agent will be continued at his post in Washington in the duties

[47] Oglesby to Cook, Jan. 2, 1868, Oglesby Letter Books, VII: 582.
[48] Dec. 22, 1867, Cook Letter Books, IX: 104.
[49] The *Chicago Tribune* made a mistake here. The amount should have read $25,680.

he has proved himself to be so competent till all the State claims and past demands are allowed and paid, and the claims and interest of our soldiers are fully considered. The Governor has recently caused to be prepared and forwarded to Colonel Cook additional claims, amounting to over $200,000, justly due the State. The labor and knowledge of details required to prepare the State claims is very great, but the Governor, Adjutant General and Auditor, assisted by Colonel Cook, have proven equal to the task, and the additional $100,000 in the State Treasury is a very satisfactory result of their labors.[50]

As the *Chicago Tribune* stated, an additional claim had been prepared and sent Cook; but it did not amount to $200,000 as the paper stated. The amount claimed in the sixth Illinois installment was $678,028.92. This new claim and a letter from Governor Oglesby was submitted to the third auditor, John Wilson, on October 14, 1867. Colonel Cook had to work a whole year before any settlement was made; for there were many arguments over most of the items which the Illinois Governor and Adjutant General had included.[51]

The worst dispute occurred when the Treasury Department refused to accept the claim for the discount and loss on the sale of war bonds. These Illinois bonds had a par value of $2,000,000, and the state had realized only $1,767,395 from the sale of the bonds. The difference, $232,605, Illinois claimed was due her from the United States. This was the largest single item in the sixth installment. Governor Oglesby wrote to Secretary of Treasury McCulloch that the United States should allow this claim since the loan was made because of "paramount necessity," and the United States had accepted all the benefits and aid afforded by the use of the proceeds from the sale of the loan:

[50] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1867.
[51] Illinois State War Claims of 1867-70, Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault), 40.

Yet if this discount claim, this sum paid to procure this money, *is not refunded* by the United States it is clear that the State has suffered loss to that extent, more than if the State Authorities had been passive and *refused aid* instead of patriotic and *granted* aid.[52]

The arguments on this claim continued into Governor Palmer's administration.

Another item of discussion was the state's claim of $106,592.63 for the expense of recruiting Illinois men into the state service until they were mustered into the United States service. Governor Oglesby wrote the Secretary of the Treasury:

The State did actually turn *recruting Sergeant* and did enlist men for the United States Volunteer Service, paid them for the time they were such, and honestly turned them over to the U S. service. Is it unreasonable to ask of that Government the refunding of such expenditures, Surely if the United States had recruited the same men they would not have been denied pay from date of enlistment for U. S. Service. That enlistment in this case was the date of entering State service, for it was exacted by the State law, that each one "*if called for*" *should enter U S. Service*. Thus showing clearly that it was regarded on enlistment for U. S. Vol Service, nothing more or less.[53]

Part of this claim was allowed but the national government refused to pay for the surplus men who were enlisted by the state and never mustered into United States service. These men were discharged by the state due to the order of Captain Pope that no more than sixty-four men could be enlisted in each company. The auditor reasoned that: first, the men were never mustered into the United States service; second, they were never employed in the United States service and, therefore, he could not, under the Treasury Department rules,

[52] Illinois State War Claims of 1867-70, Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault), 47. This is from a copy, in Colonel Cook's handwriting, of a letter written by Governor Oglesby to Secretary McCulloch.

[53] *Ibid.*, 44.

admit the claim; and third, these men were in excess of the call of which Governor Yates was duly notified, so he had violated or did not adhere to instructions of the War Department. Therefore, the United States was not responsible.

Colonel Cook was able to get a liberal final settlement on this argument:

> The War Department however agrees to recognize these surplus men as employed in the U. S. Service from date of enlistment to date of discharge by the State and reemburse to that extent. . . . No other State up to this date has received as liberal a decision. The War Department insist that they cannot reimburse for these men beyond date of muster out by the State.[54]

By September, 1868, the third auditor settled a part of the sixth Illinois installment. The sum of $82,717.33 was allowed on the pay rolls and $68,338.56 on the expenses of the state government. Nothing was allowed on the claim for discount and interest on bonds; therefore the total amount allowed by the third auditor, $151,055.89, was only a fourth of Illinois' total claim of over $600,000.

This was not the final amount paid the state, for in November the reviewing clerk in the second comptroller's office suspended about twenty thousand dollars that the third auditor had allowed. On December 23, 1868, Colonel Cook sent a draft for $136,345.81 to Governor Oglesby. A bill for Cook's services as financial agent was enclosed.

Governor Oglesby was well pleased with Cook's work, but since his administration was drawing to a close he had to plan for Colonel Cook's recall. Before the Governor's term was over he made a proposal to

[54] Cook to Oglesby, July 1, 1868, Cook Letter Books, VIII: 60.

Governor-elect Palmer to continue Cook's activities in Washington so that more money for the state could be collected from the sixth installment. On November 16, he wrote Cook:

> I had a conversation with Gen. Palmer Saturday last and stated to him very frankly my opinion that the State ought to retain you on duty at Washington at least one year longer, should you desire to remain.[55]

As early as October 26, Cook had made up his mind that he would return to Washington only under a more remunerative contract. He wrote to his good friend, W. P. Callon of Omaha, Nebraska, a confidential letter in which he stated:

> I expect to close out all Soldiers claims by 1st of January, & shall then return to Illinois, unless I make some arrangement with General Palmer when he gets to be Governor, for the further prosecution of the State war claims, but if he desires me to go on and make up a new account, for the State (which ought to be done) and prepare explanations on suspended items in previous settlements, he must pay me a good percent or I will have nothing to do with it Every dollar I have collected, I have dug out of old rejected items under Gov. Yates administration and accounts made up under my direction and at my suggestion, so I feel that I have obtained for the State a full quarter of a million of dollars at the expense to the State of a mere trifle.[56]

Cook also informed Governor Oglesby of his stand, and the Governor wrote him: "I hope the Legislature may be induced to pass an act this winter providing for an Agency at Washington—and Specially defining his duties there."

On January 1, 1869, Colonel Cook closed his office at 280 F Street in Washington, and returned to Illinois to consult with Governor Palmer and await further devel-

[55] Oglesby Letter Books, VIII: 278.
[56] Cook Letter Books, IX: 288.

opments. His collections as fiscal agent during Governor Oglesby's administration totaled $233,655.53. Adding this amount to his collections as a military state agent, the total was $741,487.27. For collecting over three-quarters of a million dollars in three years, Colonel Cook had received $3,700 in salary and a $2,426.75 commission.[57]

In Springfield, Colonel Cook was able to come to terms with Governor Palmer and on March 10, 1869, the long sought act was passed "appointing a State Agent to collect war claims against the United States." Under this act the state agent was given the duty "of superintending the making up and collecting all claims of the state of Illinois against the United States. . . . and making of all explanations called for by the United States on settlements made on previous installments."

The state agent was to be paid no more than $4,000 a year, and H. D. Cook, for his services in collecting $136,345.81, was allowed a commission of three per cent or $4,090.37. This made the total amount which Colonel Cook received for collecting state war claims during the Oglesby administration equal $6,500. This act also repealed the act approved on February 16, 1865, which authorized the Governor to appoint six military state agents.[58]

Until May 29, 1869, Colonel Cook remained in Springfield preparing explanations and gathering additional evidence for the collection of the remainder of the sixth installment. A seventh installment, amount-

[57] Report of War Claim Agent from Washington, Dec. 21, 1868, Cook MSS (Box 109, MS Reports, Archives Division, Illinois State Library).

[58] *Public Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the 26th General Assembly* (Springfield, 1869), 42.

ing to $21,854.51 was also prepared.[59]

In May, Cook returned to Washington with the following letter from Governor Palmer to the Secretary of the Treasury, George Boutwell:

State of Illinois
Executive Department
Springfield, May 24th, 1869

Sir:

Col. H. D. Cook Agent for the State of Illinois appointed under an Act of the General Assembly entitled "An act—appointing a State Agent to collect War Claims against the United States" approved March 10th, 1869, will visit Washington in discharge of the duties of his appointment and I have to request that you will extend to him all the facilities that may be proper.

I have the honor to be with
Great respect—
Your Obdt Servt
John M. Palmer—[60]

Hon Geo. L. Boutwell
Secy of the Treasury & Co.

Until January 5, 1870, Colonel Cook remained in Washington presenting arguments for the new claim and for more on the sixth installment. By December 30, 1869, he received an additional settlement of $52,397.97 on the sixth installment. There were great difficulties in the collection of this amount, for the second comptroller had a stoppage of $22,582.64 against the state of Illinois which was to be deducted from any payments by the third auditor.

This charge was based upon a payment made by Paymaster J. H. Eaton, U. S. A., to the 9th and 12th Regiments of three month volunteers, of the State of Illinois, for clothing appearing to be

[59] *Reports made to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 27 Sess., 1871 (Springfield, 1871), I: 773.

[60] Illinois State War Claims of 1867-70, Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault, Springfield). This letter is from Colonel Cook's copy of the original.

due them, but for which the state claims reimbursement on the grounds of having furnished said Regiments with clothing in kind.[61]

Colonel Cook was able to find the vouchers showing the clothing was furnished, and the stoppage was finally withdrawn.

The seventh installment covered expenses between April 21, 1865 and August 20, 1866. The second comptroller required evidence showing the reason for these late expenditures; therefore Cook had to return to Springfield in January, 1870. After obtaining additional explanations and evidence, he returned to the capital, and by July 14, $17,821.42 was collected on this last installment and $21,542.11 was allowed on previous suspensions and disallowances. This collection totaled $39,363.53, but the clerk made an error in copying and the draft was made out for only $39,023.78. On April 12, 1871, another small collection of $514.75 was made. This made the total amount collected by Colonel Cook during Governor Palmer's administration total $91,936.22.

Adding the $232,655.53 collected during Governor Oglesby's administration to that collected during Governor Palmer's term, Colonel Cook's total collection of the fifth, sixth, and seventh installments and of suspended and disallowed claims amounted to $325,591.75. This is a large sum, but when he left Washington over $500,000 still remained suspended by the Treasury Department. Four-fifths of this was due to the claim for payment of the discount and interest on the Illinois war bonds. Only by an act of Congress could Illinois be reimbursed for this claim.[62]

[61] Illinois State War Claims of 1867-70, Cook MSS (Adjutant General's Vault), 774.
[62] *Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 27 Sess., 1871, I: 776.

Colonel Cook sent a full report of his activities to Governor Palmer on January 9, 1871.[63] The report, which was presented to the general assembly by the Governor through his private secretary on February 14, brought to a close Cook's position as state fiscal agent.

The state agent's total collection of $325,000 for Illinois, plus his collection of over $500,000 for the Illinois soldiers and their families, amounted in the aggregate to more than $800,000. This sum, obtained in six years, involved an unusual amount of ability, tact, and energy. It is a credit to Harry Dewitt Cook that his duty was performed so successfully.

[63] *Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 27 Sess., 1871, I: 776.

HISTORICAL NOTE

TOO MANY MEDICAL SCHOOLS

As Related by a Traveling Editor

In the early summer of 1844, Dr. Daniel Drake, professor of pathology and the practice of medicine in the Medical Institute of Louisville, set out on a tour of the known West and some parts of the unknown. His object, as given by him, was to investigate various epidemics, to make a survey of the practice of different forms of the medical arts and to visit all existing medical schools of what we now call the Middle West. Down the river, at New Orleans and Mobile, he walked into an epidemic of yellow fever, and in his letters to the *Western Journal of Medicine*[1] he discussed the proposed quarantine. There had been 487 deaths in one hospital in New Orleans the previous year. He soon turned back to the north and west, to the Kansas River and the Indian territory, to see at first hand the heads of Kickapoo children which were deformed from binding to boards. Here he proposed a trip to the Rockies for dyspeptics, hypochondriacs, unfortunate speculators, disappointed office seekers and others needing the rehabilitation that might come from protracted communion and struggles with the Indians and natural obstructions.

His letters show that by mid-September he had made his way up the shallow Mississippi and into the more navigable Illinois. He had seen epidemic erysipelas, black tongue and autumnal malaria, but these had not impressed him as deeply as other things he had seen, for from Peoria he wrote: "The meridian in which I now am, does not more abound in autumnal fever, than in Medical Schools."

In St. Louis he found two schools and when he inferred that neither was worth considering it must be remembered that he was traveling representative of the militant medical center in Louisville. But to make the situation more unbearable there were two medical

[1] *The Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, Vol. II, nos. VII, VIII, and IX (July, Aug., and Sept., 1844).

colleges in Illinois, "making four, all commenced within as many years, in a region which a short time since was the far West." Having condemned the St. Louis institutions by faint praises of some of their teachers, he turned his attention to Illinois.

The next of which I shall speak, is the Medical Department of Illinois College. As I passed through Jacksonville, I made acquaintance with the only two of its Professors who reside in that town, Dr. Jones and Dr. Adams. The latter, who holds the chair of Chemistry, Materia Medica, and Therapeutics, is also Professor of Chemistry and Natural History, and teacher of Modern Languages in the Academical Department; Dr. Jones, Professor of Obstetrics, appears to have been the founder of the establishment. The other Professors, reside, I believe, in different places. Jacksonville has no hospital, but the faculty promises the advantages of a dispensary to their pupils. The class of last winter, according to the printed catalogue, numbered fourteen. Cost of tickets $60.

Since the Medical Department of Illinois College lasted but a few years and then passed on, we may assume that Dr. Drake was quite right and that there should have been no schools in this new country. But when he moved on to place Rush Medical School on the pan for a complete scorching, it appears that he was only fifty per cent right, for Rush survived his remarks and still continues to turn out graduates in medicine. Before he reached Chicago, his letters contained these statements concerning that school:

[I] only speak of its school from an advertisement, which, a few days since, I cut out of a newspaper. Its title is the Rush Medical College, its Professors five in number, and the price of all their tickets $60. Dr. Brainard stands at the head of the faculty in this advertisement, and may be taken, I suppose, as the projector of the enterprise. Everywhere that I go, our brethren are crying out against the multiplication of medical schools. But to what end? Who can arrest it? The medical schools diathesis of the profession and the States, is like some morbid actions, 'self-limited,' and must be left to correct itself. It is of no use to be croaking about 'their increase,' but we may and should complain of under-bidding; and to see, as in the schools of Illinois, the number of Professors reduced to five, and the aggregate amount of their tickets to $60, is a cheapening that ought to be condemned. I fancy that the Professors would take exceptions to their brethren's reducing the price of their visits to twenty-five cents, or that of an amputation to 'fifteen shillings,' and with such feelings and opinions of professional propriety, they ought not to see their lectures at a discount of 33½

per cent. If the young men of Illinois cannot afford the ordinary and established expenditure for medical education, they had better devote themselves to the cultivation of its millions of unenclosed and exuberantly fertile acres, and thus create the means of educating the next generation.

In his generalization on medical Illinois, the visitor from Kentucky became quite enthusiastic over the land.

By the way, the country seems to me, in this State, to be the best locality for a physician. Illinois has no circulating, but a lively locomotive medium, which a physician might accumulate around him in abundance. As I was lately riding out with one of the oldest physicians in the State, he met a patient, who insisted on paying his bill in horses or fat cattle, and another took me to his farm to show me, among other objects, the colts and calves which he has derived from the same source. In this way a physician might soon overspread a grazing farm with stock, and by its means replenish his stock of quinine when exhausted, which cannot always be done, with the whole amount of money received from those who consume it.

The next letter to comment on Illinois medical education was dated September 24, and was posted in Chicago. The doctor's viewpoint seems to have changed as he fell under the spell of the place. He was first surprised that he could see "ten miles before him the spires and masts of a beautiful and thriving commercial town while . . . still in the midst of the 'pontine marshes.' " He remarked that unlike Rome this city in the marshes was free from "algid, soporose, intermittent or simple fever." Although his description of the commerce and navigation of the Chicago area is enchanting, our interest lies in his visit to the new Rush Medical College and Dr. Brainard, the founder. Apparently they had a thorough discussion of the system of ticket education and in the end, he became somewhat sympathetic toward this new order of things.

Justice, however, to Dr. Brainard, the enlightened founder of the 'Rush Medical College' of this place, requires me to state, that he himself, in the abstract, does not approve of cheapening medical instruction; but says he was driven into it by the example of the schools in this latitude, from Geneva, in New York, to Fox River, in Illinois, embracing the intermediate establishments of Willoughby, Cleveland, Laport, and Jacksonville. He and his colleagues, indeed, have it in view, in due time, to advance the price of their tickets. He does not anticipate a very rapid growth of his establishment,

and would not, in the infancy of the country, have moved in its organization, but that several towns, which he justly regarded as too small and sequestered, had been made the sites of such institutions. I must confess that this view of the matter is plausible; and that if the patronage which would be distributed among the towns of Laport, Jacksonville, and St. Charles, can be concentrated on Chicago, it will be for the benefit of the profession and society at large. Indeed, it must, I think, be admitted, that the towns just named, together with Willoughby, in the state of Ohio, are not places where flourishing medical colleges can be built. West of Pennsylvania and New York, leaving out of view the towns on or near the Ohio, the three points favoring and requiring such seminaries, are St. Louis, Chicago, and Cleveland. Each of the towns which I have mentioned, will have population enough to give business to a faculty of teachers, and subjects for the practical anatomist; each will have a hospital, where clinical medicine and morbid anatomy may be taught; and each will erect such literary and scientific associations, as will favor research and ambitious study, in both professors and pupils.

The first annual catalogue of the school of this place, just published, embraces 22 students, which is rather more than the first class in Transylvania University, or the Medical College of Ohio, and beyond what might have been expected on a spot, which 15 years ago was but a military post and the site of an Indian Agency. I have made a visit to the edifice of the school—(to be finished in time for the ensuing course of lectures)—which will be commodious and respectable. The money with which the Trustees are building it, has been cheerfully contributed by the citizens of Chicago. The faculty have also commenced a monthly, under the title of the 'Illinois Medical and Surgical Journal,' of which Prof. Blaney is the Editor. Each number contains 16 large and well-printed pages the contents of which I have not had time to study, but observe a large proportion of original matter. Thus Chicago is fairly in the field, and her nearest rival will be St. Louis. I hope they will set an example to their seniors, of honorable bearing in the 'certamen gloriae.'

(Signed)
Daniel Drake

Further letters show that Dr. Drake traveled across the state to Galena and the upper Mississippi, returning late in October to Louisville to engage again in the struggle between the Louisville Institute and Transylvania College at Lexington for the educational supremacy in which neither could win.

E. G. C. Williams

DANVILLE, ILLINOIS

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

NATURALIZATION PROCESS, 1787

To-day the fourteenth of January, 1787, there appeared at the record-office of the Court in the presence of M. Jean Bte. Dubuque, Commandant of this village,

M. Augustin Dubuque, traveling trader, dwelling at present in this village aforesaid of Cahokia, who declared that he desired to become one of the subjects of the United States of America and made oath of fidelity to the said States as follows: I make oath to renounce and refuse all fidelity to George III., King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors; and that I will be faithful and bear fidelity to the Republic of Virginia as a free and independent state; and I will do nothing nor will I cause anything to be done, which can be prejudicial or injurious to the liberty and independence of the said State, as is declared by Congress. And also I swear that I will disclose and make known to some justice of the peace of the said State all treasons or conspiracies, which shall have come or may come to my knowledge, formed against the said State or others of the United States of America. Of which oath the said Augustin Dubuque demanded certificate. Given in the presence of the assembly, held to-day in the house of M. Fr. Saucier, and also in the presence of M. Jean Bte. Dubuque, Commandant of [this village] and of M. Jean Bte. LaCroix, President and Magistrate, and of the said M. François Saucier, witness, who have with the said M. Augustin Dubuque signed the present the said day and year.

[*Signed*] Aug. Dubuque. Aug. Dubuque.
Mark of DuCharme.
X
Fr. Courier.
Labuxiere, Clerk. J. B. H. LaCroix, Pres.

C. W. ALVORD, *Cahokia Records*, 265–67.

DRESS REGULATIONS AT FORT ARMSTRONG, 1826

No Pantaloons will be worn, except such as are furnished by the government; No Gloves of any description will be worn at the monthly inspections or on muster days. Every man who is in the habit of shaving will be shaved on the morning for inspection his having just come off guard will be no excuse for a neglect of this duty—Nor will a N. C. Officer or private ever be received for a tour of Guard who has neglected to shave himself or whose clothing is not perfectly clean, & his equipment in good order. No part of the shirt collar or handkerchief of any description will be exhibited above the stock. No Flannel shirts will ever be worn, when the Troops parade in cotton Pantaloons: The Commanding Officer has observed that several N. C. Officers and privates have long earlocks. These must all be dispenced with, and the hair must be cut close. Whiskers will also be intirely dispenced with, so that there may be a perfect uniformity of appearance in the Company. All the N. C. Officers may wear waist belts on inspection days but the privates will not, unless the whole Company is furnished. There will be a dress parade every sunday evening in good weather all enlisted men will be present on those occasions excepting the sick—Attendants in Hospital—mess cooks & the Heardsmen. Officers Commg Companies are required to have this order, & every other which may be issued in relation to the Troops, read twice at the head of their respective companies.

Signed Josiah H. Vose
Maj 5th Infy Commg Post
Fort Armstrong Orderly Book, 83.
(Photostatic copy from Burton Historical Collection, Detroit).

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE, 1832

Assistant Adjutant-General's Office,
Fort Armstrong, August 28th, 1832.

Order No. 16.

1. The cholera has made its appearance on Rock Island. The two first cases were brought by mistake from Captain Ford's company of U. S. Rangers; one of those died yesterday, the other is convalescent. A second death occurred this morning in the hospital in

Fort Armstrong. . . .

2. It is believed that all these men were of intemperate habits. The Ranger who is dead, it is known, generated this disease within him by a fit of intoxication.

3. This disease having appeared among the Rangers and on this island, all in commission are called upon to exert themselves to the utmost to stop the spread of the calamity. . . .

5. . . . The Commanding General, who has seen much of this disease, knows that it is intemperance which, in the present state of the atmosphere, generates and spreads the calamity. . . .

6. He therefore peremptorily commands that every soldier or Ranger who shall be found drunk or sensibly intoxicated after the publication of this order, be compelled, as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying place large enough for his own reception, as such grave cannot fail soon to be wanted for the drunken man himself or some drunken companion.

7. This order is given as well to serve for the punishment of drunkenness as to spare good and temperate men the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions. . . .

By order of Major-General Scott,
P. H. Galt, Ass't Adjutant-General.

FRANK E. STEVENS, *The Black Hawk War*, 248–49.

FRONTIER POLITICS

The contest for gubernatorial honors in 1830, was confined to two candidates, but was even more protracted than the preceding one, which it surpassed in excitement and personal rancor. John Reynolds, then a member of the legislature, announced himself as a candidate in the winter of 1828-9. . . . William Kinney, the lieutenant-governor, was put forward as a candidate at the same time. . . . Both candidates addressed the people in every county, though not together. They spoke in churches, court-houses, and "groceries," but mostly in the open air, the better to accommodate the large crowds which no halls of those days could hold. A tree would be cut down in the forest near the town, and the stump hewed smooth, and on this the speaker took his stand—hence the origin of the phrase "stump-speech.". . .

Both candidates followed the practice of "treating"—it being said, indeed, that Kinney, not to be behind in this respect, as a clergyman, carried a Bible in one pocket, and as a candidate, a bottle of whisky in the other.

A large amount of electioneering was done by means of handbills and circulars, many of them being prepared by the friends of each candidate, and circulated without (?) his knowledge. The attention of Kinney being called to the fact that in one of these, the I's were all small or lowercase i's, he replied "O, yes, that's all right. Reynolds has used up all the big I's in his circulars."

All sorts of tricks were played with these handbills by both sides. While Matthew Duncan, who distributed for Kinney, was stopping at Jacksonville with his saddle-bags full of documents, some friends of Reynolds, who were also there, during the night exchanged circulars. Duncan went on giving out the latter for sometime before he found out the joke played upon him.

JOHN MOSES, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I: 352–54.

"BANTY TIM"

The Actual Hero of One of John Hay's "Pike County Ballads."

Correspondence of the Quincy Whig.

PITTSFIELD, Ill., Jan. 17,—"Banty Tim," a dialect poem by Col. John Hay, which first made its appearance in *Harper's Weekly*, has doubtless been read and enjoyed by many who would be pleased to learn its history. The hero of the poem, whom Col. Hay saw fit for his own purpose, to call Tillman Joy, resided in this place, and I am therefore in a situation to give the information. Col. Hay "was raised"—that is the colloquial of it—in this vicinity, and on a visit to Pittsfield—"Spunky Point" as he puts it in the ballad—he heard the story which took the form of "Banty Tim" from his hands and was published in book form by Osgood & Co., in 1871, along with "Jim Bludso," "Little Breeches," and several others, under the title of "Pike County Ballads."

The "Tillman Joy" of the poem is Capt. D. E. Bates, of this place, who served nine months in the Second Illinois Cavalry and afterward entered the regular service in the Thirteenth United States Infantry. On the 19th of May, 1863, he was wounded at Vicksburg, substantially as stated in the poem, and after lying in a helpless condition for some time a negro came to him and carried him off the field. This negro appeared to have no name but Rose, and was black as the ace of spades. Capt. Bates retained his service, and being furloughed, he came home to recover from his wounds, bringing Rose with him as a servant. There appears to have been a few citizens here who were deeply impressed with the belief that this is a white man's government, and to have waited on the Captain to suggest the propriety of sending Rose away. The poem puts the Captain's reply to the suggestion in the form of "remarks of Tillman Joy to the White Man's Committee of Spunky Point, Ill.:"

I reckon I git your drift, gents—
You 'low the boys shan't stay!
This is a white man's country;
You're Dimocrats, you say;
And whereas, and seein', and wherefore,
The times bein' all out o' j'int,
The nigger has got to mosy
From the limits of Spunky P'int!

But not to be arrogant or blind, and unreasonable, the Captain stated to them his position, his political preferences and the weighty obligations under which he was placed to Rose.

Le's reason the thing for a minute;
I'm an old-fashioned Dimocrat, too,
Though I laid my polotics out o' the way
For to keep till the war was through.
But I come back here, allowin'
To vote as I used to do,
Though it gravels me like the devil to train
Along o' sich fools as you.

After reasoning the matter over "in the spirit of love," as the Rev. Chadband would say, the Captain came down to the practical point of stating what he would do if any one attempted to run Rose off. The poem has it thus, a somewhat exaggerated form of his language:

So, my gentle gazelles, thar's my answer,
And here stays Banty Tim,
He trumped Death's ace for me that day,
And I'm not goin' back on him!

You may rezoloot till the cows come home,
But if one of you tetches the boy,
He'll wrastle his hash to-night in hell,
Or my name's not Tillman Joy!

Capt. Bates may be seen any day on the streets carrying an empty sleeve about with him, but not

With a rib caved in, and a leg on a strike.

He was retired from the army on the pay of a captain, and thus finds life comparatively easy. He still has hopes that the loss of an arm may not totally unfit him for service when the government sees fit to give him orders, and would, doubtless, in the discharge of duty, be as likely as heretofore to become the hero of a ballad that would prove a source of amusement to thousands.

Illinois State Journal, Jan. 21, 1876.

THE MUSE IN EARLY ILLINOIS

March 24, 1832.

On the arrival of the first Steam Boat.

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Say ye, bold Springfield men, the sight—
Did it not give you vast delight?
And you fair dames, your comments on it;
It almost equall'd a new bonnet.
Could any thing be so bewitching—
Lord, lord, to think on't sets me itching—
That is in rhyme, my pretty dears,
As some one says some other wheres.
Both town and country went to see
What this strange animal could be
But cautious first, and by degrees,
The Suckers peep'd behind the trees,
Till more familiar grown, they chase

And boldly stare her in the face.
One thought it might be Noah's ark—
No, no, another did remark
Tis only Bogue's, his luck to try,
Nor need be here a dove let fly;
He only fears it should be dry!
The news to Springfield quickly flew,
And all the folks went out to view
So strange a sight, to them so new;
Some thought the world was at an end,
And heav'n in mercy this did send
To save the chosen people in.
Who never yet committed sin;
Or only now and then got friskey
When broach'd an extra tub of whiskey.
Others there were who scouted this
And deem'd it all hypothesis—
Nor would their very eyes believe,
But cunningly themselves deceive. . . .

Sangamo Journal, March 29, 1832.

THROUGH ENGLISH EYES

A Jaunt to the Looking-Glass Prairie

Having settled the order of proceeding, and the road to be taken we started off once more and began to make our way through an ill-favoured Black Hollow, called, less expressively, the American Bottom.

The previous day had been—not to say hot, for the term is weak and lukewarm in its power of conveying an idea of the temperature. The town had been on fire; in a blaze. But at night it had come on to rain in torrents, and all night long it had rained without cessation. We had a pair of very strong horses, but travelled at the rate of little more than a couple of miles an hour, through one unbroken slough of black mud and water. It had no variety but in depth. Now it was only half over the wheels, now it hid the axletree, and now the coach sank down in it almost to the win-

dows. The air resounded in all directions with the loud chirping of the frogs, who, with the pigs (a coarse, ugly breed, as unwholesome-looking as though they were the spontaneous growth of the country), had the whole scene to themselves. Here and there we passed a log hut: but the wretched cabins were wide apart and thinly scattered, for though the soil is very rich in this place, few people can exist in such a deadly atmosphere. On either side of the track, if it deserve the name, was the thick "bush;" and everywhere was stagnant, slimy, rotten, filthy water.

As it is the custom in these parts to give a horse a gallon or so of cold water whenever he is in foam with heat, we halted for that purpose, at a log inn in the wood. . . .

When the horses were swollen out to about twice their natural dimensions (there seems to be an idea here, that this kind of inflation improves their going), we went forward again, through mud and mire, and damp, and festering heat, and brake and bush, attended always by the music of the frogs and pigs, until nearly noon, when we halted at a place called Belleville.

Belleville was a small collection of wooden houses, huddled together in the very heart of the bush and swamp. Many of them had singularly bright doors of red and yellow; for the place had been lately visited by a travelling painter, "who got along," as I was told, "by eating his way." The criminal court was sitting, and was at that moment trying some criminals for horse-stealing: with whom it would most likely go hard: for live stock of all kinds being necessarily very much exposed in the woods, is held by the community in rather higher value than human life; and for this reason, juries generally make a point of finding all men indicted for cattle-stealing, guilty, whether or no. . . .

There was an hotel in this place, which, like all hotels in America, had its large dining-room for the public table. It was an odd, shambling, low-roofed out-house, half-cowshed and half-kitchen, with a coarse brown canvas table-cloth, and tin sconces stuck against the walls, to hold candles at supper-time. The horseman had gone forward to have coffee and some eatables prepared, and they were by this time nearly ready. He had ordered "wheat-bread and chicken fixings," in preference to "corn-bread and common doings." The latter kind of refection includes only pork and

bacon. The former comprehends broiled ham, sausages, veal cutlets, steaks, and such other viands of that nature as may be supposed, by a tolerably wide poetical construction, "to fix" a chicken comfortably in the digestive organs of any lady or gentleman. . . .

From Belleville, we went on, through the same desolate kind of waste, and constantly attended, without the interval of a moment, by the same music; until, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we halted once more at a village called Lebanon to inflate the horses again, and give them some corn besides: of which they stood much in need. Pending this ceremony, I walked into the village, where I met a full-sized dwelling-house coming down-hill at a round trot, drawn by a score or more of oxen.

CHARLES DICKENS, *American Notes*, 211–16.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society and others interested are invited to inspect the display recently arranged in the Lincoln Room of the Historical Library in Springfield. The exhibit consists mainly of original letters written by Abraham Lincoln, though others written by members of his family and contemporaries are also included.

The collection covers a variety of subjects. A note of Mrs. Lincoln to her milliner and also a social invitation may be found here. However, the majority deal with political and business matters. A group of miniatures, five of Lincoln and one of Mrs. Lincoln, is on display, and in the same case is shown the marriage license of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd. A copy of the Emancipation Proclamation with the signatures of Lincoln and Seward upon it is included in the exhibit.

The purchase of suitable cases for the display of this extremely valuable collection has made it possible to open the exhibit for public inspection. The Trustees of the Library believe that no comparable group of Lincoln autographs is publicly displayed anywhere.

On the occasion of the second annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the forty-second meeting of the Illinois Library Association, the new Archives Building of the state of Illinois was dedicated. Built at a cost of $850,000, this building is one of three structures in the United States devoted exclusively to the housing of archives. It stands on the southwest corner of the State Capitol grounds in Springfield. At the dedication exercises, held on October 28, speeches were made by the following: Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state; Robert D. W. Connor, national archivist; A. R. Newsome, president of the Society of American Archivists; Louis L. Emmerson, former governor of Illinois; John W. Kapp, mayor of Springfield; and Carl Roden, librarian of the Chicago Public Library.

Four rooms in the new building were named for the four secretaries of state in Illinois who have been especially influential in record preservation. These include Nathaniel Pope (territorial secretary), George H. Harlow, Louis L. Emmerson, and Edward J. Hughes.

One of the features of the three-day meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Springfield was a complimentary luncheon tendered by the Illinois State Historical Society on October 25.

The formal dedication of the Ohio River bridge at Cairo was held on Armistice Day. William C. Shoemaker was general chairman of the celebration which included a pageant, speeches, parades, and boat races. A cast of some three hundred people took part in a historical pageant which portrayed the history of Cairo from the days of the Indians to the present time. Official representatives from Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky were present for the festivities.

The Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden at Lake Springfield was dedicated on October 4 during the semi-annual meeting of the Illinois Garden Club. Some two hundred representatives from fifty-two garden clubs of the state were present at the services. Paul M. Angle delivered the dedicatory address at the Lincoln Council Ring which was built by the Springfield Civic Garden Association. At the end of the program, fagots were placed on the fire by officers of the Illinois Garden Club and other groups. Later in the day a banquet was held in Springfield at which Mrs. O. W. Dynes, national president of the garden clubs, was the principal speaker.

The garden, a unique memorial to Abraham Lincoln, occupies considerable ground on the shores of the lake which lies south of Springfield. The idea of the memorial originated with Mrs. T. J. Knudson a few years ago and has received hearty endorsement by state officials and by the garden clubs of the state.

During the autumn the members of Illini Chapter, Daughters of

the American Revolution, marked two historic sites in Ottawa and LaSalle County. First to be commemorated was the site of Fort Wilbourn, Black Hawk War concentration camp, overlooking the Illinois River Valley one mile south of the city of LaSalle. At this fort Abraham Lincoln was mustered out of the company of Elijah Iles on June 16, 1832, and immediately re-enlisted in the company of Jacob M. Early. On the site of the fort a bronze tablet was dedicated on September 15, 1938, with ceremonies marked by an address by Mrs. John Edward Kemp, of Kewanee, state historian of the Illinois D. A. R.

The second memorial was dedicated on October 3, 1938, when a bronze tablet was placed on the Glover residence in Ottawa, where Lincoln stayed at the time of his debate with Douglas, August 21, 1858. On this occasion Mrs. Jacob F. Zimmerman, state regent of the Illinois department, D. A. R., and other state officers were in attendance.

The memory of Jesse Trailor, a veteran of the War of 1812, was honored on July 31 when impressive services were held at his grave in Bureau County. The official 1812 bronze marker and the wreath of the Francis Scott Key chapter of the United States Daughters of 1812 were placed on his last resting place in Van Orin Cemetery at that time. Mrs. Henry W. English, state chairman of grave markings for the organization, was in charge of the ritual.

On the old covered bridge northwest of Princeton a bronze plaque was placed on September 5, to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of its construction. The Bureau County Historical Society, co-operating with the county highway department, arranged the program at which Dr. Hugh S. Magill was the principal speaker. A picnic dinner was served to the crowd of more than two hundred people who attended the event.

The Bureau County Historical Society is one of the few organizations of its kind in the state to have a historical museum. Its display, opened in the courthouse at Princeton in September, con-

tains a number of interesting relics and records. F. S. Fowler, chairman of the permanent exhibit committee of the Society, announces that the museum is being kept open a part of every week-day.

On September 17, members of the George Rogers Clark chapter, Daughters of the American Colonists, dedicated a maple tree on the lawn of the Capitol in Springfield. A plaque on the tree was unveiled by Drake Speed Reid, grandson of Mrs. Burton M. Reid. Mrs. Charles E. Davidson, national vice-president of the Daughters of the American Colonists, made the presentation speech and George R. Moore, representing Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state, accepted the tree for the state.

The site of the first brick building constructed in Sangamon County was marked with a bronze tablet on September 17. The research committee of the Springfield chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution had charge of the unveiling.

The tablet is located on the farm of Dr. F. C. Fink, a short distance east of Pleasant Plains on State Route 125. The original house, constructed of bricks made in kilns nearby, was built by Moses Broadwell and his son, John, in 1824. Though it was destroyed by fire, a new building, built in 1834 and known as the Old Broadwell Tavern, is still standing.

On the occasion of the unveiling, Earl B. Searcy, state senator, made the principal speech of the day. Mrs. Mary Stuart Hall traced the history of the Broadwell family and Paul M. Angle accepted the tablet on behalf of Governor Horner.

On August 5 and 6, the centennial of the first settlement of Western Township in Henry County was celebrated. The Orion Woman's Club, sponsoring the festivities, planned an elaborate program of entertainment, and the *Orion Times* printed an interesting historical sketch of the township.

A Centennial Celebration Committee has been appointed to plan for the observation of the centennial of Metropolis in 1939. Numerous civic organizations are assisting in planning the program, which includes the presentation of a historical pageant. Efforts will be made to secure a large number of visitors to the city during the year, various fraternal organizations attempting to interest conventions in coming to Metropolis.

This year Monticello College at Godfrey rounded out its first century. May 28, 29 and 30 were set apart for the centennial celebration, which included commencement exercises, a historical pageant, and a number of addresses by distinguished educators. A complete account of the celebration, including the text of the pageant, is to be found in the "Official Program Bulletin" of the *Monticello Bulletin*, published by the college in September.

Originally known as Monticello Female Seminary, this institution was founded by Theron Baldwin under the patronage of Capt. Benjamin Godfrey. It has consistently played a useful part in the cultural and educational history of Illinois.

In the month of August the sixth volume of *Territorial Papers of the United States*[1] was released by the Department of State. This volume contains the official papers relating to the Territory of Mississippi during the years 1809-1817. (Similar documents for the period 1798-1809 were published in Volume V of the *Territorial Papers*).

As volume after volume is added to the series, it becomes increasingly clear that the *Territorial Papers of the United States* is to be one of the basic sources of American historical writing. That this should be the case is due in part to the intrinsic importance of the material made available, and in part to the fine scholarship and editorial skill of Dr. Clarence E. Carter, editor of the series. Students of Illinois history await the appearance of the Illinois volume with increasing eagerness.

[1] Available from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., $1.50.

One of the first and best of the campaign biographies of Abraham Lincoln to be published after his nomination was the *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by William Dean Howells, then a young editorial writer on the *Ohio State Journal* at Columbus. A copy of the book came into the possession of Samuel C. Parks, of Lincoln, Illinois, a close legal and political associate of the Republican nominee. At Parks's request, Lincoln looked over the book carefully and made many annotations and corrections in the margins. This unique copy, now owned by Samuel C. Parks, Jr., of Cody, Wyoming, has just been reprinted in facsimile by the Abraham Lincoln Association,[2] of Springfield.

The book is not only a most unusual addition to Lincolniana; it is also a historical contribution of primary importance. It is a reasonable inference that the statements of the text which Lincoln did not amend are correct, and thus this copy becomes in effect the authoritative treatment of the subjects it covers.

The Windbreak, by Garreta Busey,[3] is a novel with historical implications.

The book opens with Hugh Brundage, grandson of eastern Illinois pioneers, a farm boy loaded with the harsh labor of a man; when it ends he is a prospering manufacturer in a small but thriving town. Through his life, and the lives of other members of the family, the development of the country from unbroken prairie to the small town era following the Civil War is graphically, though incidentally, described. Because the experiences of the Brundages were typical of so many others, the story of their lives, competently told, contributes to a better understanding of the social and economic history of the state.

In modern American historical writing the most influential name, by long odds, is Frederick Jackson Turner. In comparison with many of his contemporaries, Turner was not a prolific writer,

[2] *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by W. D. Howells, $3.00 (500 copies only for sale).
[3] Funk & Wagnalls, $2.50.

and most of his contributions appeared in periodicals now difficult to find. To have a bibliography of all his work, together with a reprinting of four of his early essays, including his famous paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," is therefore a decided advantage. It is most appropriate that such a volume[4] should be produced by the University of Wisconsin Press, for Turner was born in Wisconsin, educated at the University, and there formulated his famous thesis of the dominating influence of the frontier.

The issue of the *Vandalia Leader* for September 15 contains an interesting history of Vandalia, written by Earl Yund. For twenty years—from 1820 through 1839—Vandalia was the capital of Illinois. During that period almost every prominent person in the state lived or visited there, so Mr. Yund's story possesses much more than purely local interest.

The revival of hoop skirts and high headdresses has caused an increased interest in the nineteenth century costume exhibits at the Chicago Historical Society. If the well-dressed woman compares the fashions of today with some of those displayed by the life-size mannequins in this exhibit, she may be surprised at the lack of originality in her own appearance.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society, which was organized only last February, now has one hundred and fifty members. At the Society's fall meeting, on October 28, an "old time variety show" was presented. Many of the people who took part in this entertainment were active in such productions in the district twenty-five years ago. Blackface acts, short skits, and various musical performances were on the program, and the good old days were

[4] *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner*, with a list of all his Works Compiled by Everett E. Edwards, and an Introduction by Fulmer Mood; University of Wisconsin Press, $3.50.

recalled for many by this performance. Richard O. Helwig is president of the Society.

A fall reunion was held by the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) on October 6 at the John Toman Branch Library. Pictures and relics of the early settlers in the community were on display.

The South Shore Historical Society of Chicago began its fall activities with a meeting on October 27 at the South Shore branch of the Public Library. Music was furnished by the South Shore Community Church Choir. Mrs. Jean O. Nichols and Mrs. Warren Smith described trips from which they had recently returned.

The Woodlawn Historical Society held its first meeting of the season on October 21 at the Gladstone Hotel. An illustrated talk on the Northwest Territory was given by John C. Miller of Oak Park. Mr. Miller is vice-president of the West Side Historical Society and edits the bulletin of that organization. Mrs. E. J. Chladek is president of the Woodlawn group.

When members of the Riverside Historical Society met on October 14, John C. Miller of Oak Park gave a lecture on "The Evolution of Illinois." His talk was accompanied by slides illustrating the history of the Northwest Territory and the early period of Illinois' history as a state.

The planting of a tree as a memorial to the late Miss Catharine A. Mitchell, former secretary of the Riverside organization, was proposed by Joseph Harrington. A committee to select a suitable site for the memorial was appointed.

Since the eighth anniversary of the West Side Historical Society

in Chicago came within a month of that of the *Midwest News*, a special edition of that paper on September 14 recognized both birthdays. A number of feature articles dealing with the early history of the west side and with the history of the Society were included. Miss Pearl I. Field, honorary president and founder of the Society, served as honorary editor on this occasion.

The Society now has 400 members and maintains a historical collection of over a thousand items in the Henry E. Legler Regional Library, the home of the organization.

The ninth annual meeting was held on October 17. On this occasion the prize essay in the recent contest conducted by the Society was presented by Grover C. Ramsey. This essay on "Chief-che-pen-qua," submitted by the Steinmetz High School chapter of the Society, brought the Otto Eisenschiml trophy—a beautiful silver cup—to the school. Speeches by Otto Eisenschiml and Judge G. Fred Rush were also included on the program.

The Steinmetz branch of the Society has taken up a new project recently. Members of this organization are interviewing long-time residents of the vicinity with the purpose of interesting them in the newly-organized Pioneers' Club of the northwest side.

On November 17, the Aurora Historical Society sponsored an illustrated lecture by Mrs. William Gary Brown on "Historic Williamsburg and the Parks and Gardens of Washington and Virginia."

The Aurora Historical Society is making a sustained effort to increase its membership. The annual dues of one dollar per person are used for the benefit of the historical museum in Aurora.

At the September meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society the Rev. Joseph P. Donnelley, S. J., of St. Louis University, spoke on "The Unknown Patriot." The patriot referred to was Daniel Carroll, a member of the constitutional convention from Virginia, whose part in the establishment of the Northwest Territory has not, in the opinion of the speaker, been duly recognized.

When the Society met in October, John E. Miller of East St. Louis talked on "Indian Lore." At this same meeting the Rev. Joseph M. Mueller reported on the work of collecting materials relating to the history of Cahokia, which is being done in co-operation with the Works Progress Administration. The results of this investigation were on display at the meeting. Included was a copy, with translation, of the church burial records for the years 1783-1803. The originals of these records have been considerably damaged by floods as well as by the passage of time.

At the business session of the Society at this meeting a gift of books from the estate of the late Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Smith was accepted with resolutions of appreciation. They were presented by Mrs. Judith Smith Wood and Robert M. Smith, Jr., children of the deceased.

When the Edgar County Historical Society held its meeting on October 15, Miss Margaret Parker described a recent trip to Europe. Several gifts to the Society were on display at this meeting.

The Evanston Historical Society held its first meeting of the fall season on November 1. Walter Dill Scott, president of Northwestern University and Prof. James Hatfield of the same institution were the speakers. The museum of the Society, located in the Public Library Building, was opened on this date. Good results from the recent membership campaign were reported by the president, Dr. Dwight F. Clark.

On the first day of September the doors of the Galena Civic Center and Museum of History and Art were opened. Within ten days more than 1,500 people, mainly tourists, had signed its register, and hundreds visited the institution without leaving their names. Several months ago, as noted in the last number of the *Journal*, the Galena Historical Museum Association was organized. With the active co-operation of other local groups, the Association raised

the necessary funds and obtained the use, rent-free and tax-free of one of the largest and most dignified buildings in the city. Henceforth this building will function as an art museum, a historical museum and a community center.

A description of the museum and its exhibits is to be found in a recently published pamphlet, *Glamorous Galena and Jo Daviess County*, which can be obtained without cost from the Galena Historical Museum Association.

The museum has already acquired an interesting and varied display of exhibits. Among those recently received is the mahogany table which General Grant used in his rooms when he stayed at the DeSoto Hotel in Galena. It was presented to the Galena Historical Association by A. Courtney Campbell. Another interesting item in the museum is the well-worn flag which was on Commodore Perry's flagship in the Battle of Lake Erie. Various other articles are displayed, among them a large case of World War relics.

An "all-Illinois" art exhibit was sponsored by the Hancock County Historical Society at the Homecoming in Carthage early in August. The forty-one paintings exhibited, all the work of Illinois artists, had previously been on display at the art gallery in the Stevens Hotel in Chicago.

The quarterly meeting of the McLean County Historical Society was held on October 12 at the Society's rooms in the McBarnes Memorial Building in Bloomington. At the close of the business session, Jacob L. Hasbrouck read a paper on "Lincoln in Some of his Unheroic Hours."

The Macon County Historical Society, reorganized in June by a group of people aware of the need for preserving historical records and relics, held its fall meeting on October 6. Paul M. Angle of Springfield emphasized the importance of local history and its value to any community.

Proposals for the erection of a statue of Abraham Lincoln were considered and the subject of a historical museum was discussed. The *Decatur Herald and Review* made the following comment on the latter proposal:

"The Historical Society needs to get right to work to retrieve and preserve a lot of relics now in existence in Decatur, but rapidly going to pieces. Civil War relics, in particular, are plentiful at present but growing fewer and fewer with the years. Macon County, being so closely allied to Lincoln, is full of Lincoln treasures but the time is approaching when there will not be one left. The Society should do something about it, and do it at once."

The Morgan County Historical Society held its fall meeting at the Fritz Haskell cabin, near Winchester in Scott County, on October 21. Dr. Carl E. Black, president, opened the meeting and presented Mrs. Henry W. English, director, who spoke on the "Relation of Morgan and Scott Counties to the War of 1812." In her talk she sketched the history of the region from the French and English periods down through the War of 1812.

The cabin in which the meeting was held was built in 1826 and has been in the Haskell family since that time. Mr. Haskell related some interesting facts concerning the history of the cabin and the fine display of relics and antiques with which it is filled. Dr. R. O. Stoops gave a short talk on the history of the Military Tract.

At the meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society on October 20, Mrs. H. P. Schmidt spoke on the work of the humane society called "The Initial Band of Mercy." Several of the early members of the Society some twenty years ago took part in the program.

During the current season the Peoria Historical Society is studying significant events of the twentieth century in Peoria, five meetings being devoted to this undertaking. Howard A. Hunter is

president of the Society and Y. A. Heghin is chairman of the program committee.

At the first fall meeting of the year, on October 12, Mrs. Nana Stitely reported on the research work which has been carried on in conjunction with the public library and the Works Progress Administration for the last two years. Workers engaged in indexing newspapers for the years 1837–1863 have prepared 124,000 cards. A project of this kind results in a comprehensive summary of early events, and names connected with them, that could not be made available in any other way.

Members of the Quincy Historical Society held a dinner meeting on October 7 at the Historical Building in Quincy. Lane K. Newberry, Chicago artist whose paintings of Mormon subjects are now on exhibition in the Illinois State Historical Library, was the guest speaker.

The first meeting of the season for the Winnetka Historical Society was held on October 12. Mrs. William S. Otis, a former resident of Winnetka, read a paper on "Early Recollections of Winnetka."

This Society has enrolled seventy-five members since it was organized last February, according to the president, Eugene A. Rummler. Frank A. Windes, custodian, reports that seven hundred items and documents of historical interest have been received for the Society's collection.

The Woodford County Historical Society held two picnics this fall. The first took place on the farm of L. J. Freese, the Society's president, near Eureka. After speeches and music, memorial services for Joseph Fifer, late ex-governor of Illinois, and Dr. George A. Zeller were held. Historical records and relics were on display.

The second picnic was held at the Eichhorn Cave Park near

Spring Bay on September 2. After a dinner and program, the remainder of the day was spent in visiting the rock gardens in the park.

Proposals for the formation of a historical society in Knoxville were made at a meeting of the Lucretia Leffingwell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on September 9. Knoxville, once the seat of Knox County, is more than a hundred years old, and holds within its history many events worth commemorating in written or otherwise permanent form.

A museum extension project was inaugurated in Illinois in September, with the Illinois State Museum as sponsor. Through the co-operation of local historical societies, museums have been opened in several counties and new service is being given to others already in existence. The WPA traveling museum is supplying many local needs with its traveling exhibits. Color-plates and dioramas have been found useful for such purposes, and replicas of historic buildings are also popular. Lincoln and Indian relics have been found to be of special interest.

The museum of the Rock Island Arsenal contains one of the most complete collections of war materials to be found in the United States. Visitors come from all parts of the country as well as from various European nations to see these exhibits. Included are a small arms collection, a projectile display and a machine gun exhibit. Guns are grouped according to the war in which they were used. The World War exhibit is particularly complete, showing the arms of each nation which took part in it.

One of the oldest weapons on display is a bronze six-inch cannon taken from the British when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga in 1777. The most powerful piece in the artillery exhibit is the six-inch howitzer. In the projectile display the evolution of the use of shrapnel is traced.

A prize of $50 for the best essay on the life and work of Peter Akers (1790-1886), Methodist clergyman and educator, is being offered through the Illinois State Historical Society by one of the Society's members. It is stipulated that the essay is to be biographical in character, and that it is to include an evaluation of Peter Akers' career. The point of view, however, must be objective—no mere eulogy will be acceptable. No definite limit has been placed on the number of words, but 10,000 words, or approximately thirty double-spaced pages, is suggested as a desirable length.

Manuscripts must be in the hands of the Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society by April 1, 1939. The prize winner will be selected by a committee of the Society. The committee's decision will be final, and the right not to award the prize if no essay exhibits a reasonable degree of competence is specifically reserved.

The prize-winning essay will be published in either the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society or *Papers in Illinois History*. Contestants, therefore, are required to conform to the rules prescribed in the manual of style followed in the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. Copies of this manual may be obtained from the Society's Secretary without charge.

CONTRIBUTORS

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INDEX

Abbott, Edward....37n.
Abraham Lincoln Association....500
Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden (Lake Springfield) 496
Academy of Political and Social Sciences....402
Acheson, John....110
Adams, Samuel....483
Addams, Jane....401, 444n.
Adhamer, Mrs. ———.... 45
Agricultural products (Bond County)....143-47, 150
Ainse family....23n.
Akers, Milburn P....113
Akers, Peter....509
Alarie or Alary, Mme Bte....102
Alexander County, Ill.... 14
Alexis, Grand Duke....412
Alix, E....225
Allen, Andrew....202
Allen, Henry C.... 95
Allen, John....128
Allied Powers...403, 405, 406, 407, 409
Allyn, Nelson
quoted....220
Almanac, Ryder's....106
Altgeld, John Peter
biography of reviewed....359-60
message pardoning anarchists.434-47
pardon for anarchists sought from....427, 428-29, 430-33
party leader....448
Altgeld, Mrs. John Peter....445
Alvarez, ——— (priest)....101
Alvord, C. W.
quoted....102, 356-57, 486
mentioned....252, 256
American Bottom....492
American Fur Company
employees of....199, 203, 208
mentioned....196, 211, 212, 342
American Historical Association...230
American language....213-14
American Legion.... 89
American-Scandinavian Foundation 368
American Years....361
Ames Tavern (Boone County)....365
Amnesty Association....427, 431
Amnesty Committee....427, 428, 439
Amphitheater (Chicago)....414
Anarchists (in Haymarket Affair)
pardon for, sought....427-33
pardoned by Altgeld....434-44, 447
trial of....426
Ander, O. F....368
Angle, Paul M.
article by....125-37
quoted....219
speaks....496, 498, 505
mentioned....230, 237
Anna, Ill.... 19
Anthon, George.... 52
Antinomianism....248
Apache Indians....417
Arbeiter Zeitung....425, 438
Archdeacon, Matthew....106
Armstrong, Mrs. B. W....368
Armstrong, Duff....106
Armstrong, James M....234
Army of the West....450
Arnold, Isaac N.
quoted....216-17, 355
Asbury, Herbert
quoted....217-19

Askin, Archange 28
Askin, John
letters to 41, 49, 50
mentioned 28, 29, 30n.
Askin, Mrs. John 28
Askin, Madelaine 50n.
Askwith, John 29
Astor, John Jacob 59, 203
Athens, Ill. 364
Atkinson, Henry 347
Augustana Historical Society 368
Augustana Historical Society Publications 226
Aurora, Ill. 503
Aurora Historical Society 369, 503
Austin, ——— 357
"Austins in Macon County, The" ... 225
Austria-Hungary
action of protested in Chicago 385, 386
Czech revolt against urged 389
Czechs hope for defeat of 387-88
Czechs in Parliament of 405, 406
ultimatum to Serbia 384
mentioned 381, 382, 395, 408

Baby, Jacques 23
Bacon, Amos 109
Bacon family 108
Bailey, J. N. 212
Baker, E. D. 129, 130, 161
Baldwin, Mrs. C. W. 173
Baldwin, Theron 172, 173, 499
Ballance, Charles 192, 329
Balliet, Josiah R. 231
Bancroft, Mrs. Emily Adams 181
Bannerman, James 30
Bannister, Mrs. ——— 180, 181, 182, 184
"Banty Tim" (poem) 489, 491
Baptiste family 23
"Barbara Allen" (ballad) 307
Barbau, Jean Baptiste 23
Barber, C. 30
Baring-Gould, S. 312, 314
Barker, John 328
Barnard, Harry 360
Barnhart, John D. 230
Barr, William 173
Barrett, Edward J. 73
Barrett, Lawrence 417
Barrett, Oliver R. 366
Barthe, Phyllis 50n.
Barthe family 23
Barton, William E. 105, 262, 274, 275, 277
Batchelder, Mrs. H. 173
Bates, D. E. 490, 491
Bates, Frederick 47, 48
Bauvais family 23, 32
Bay, Joseph 325
Bayliss, Estelle 227
Bayliss, Joseph 227
Baynton, John 35n.
Beardstown, Ill. 364
Beaubien, J. B.
appraises estates 206, 208
election judge 194, 341
justice 193, 338
mentioned 195
Beaubien, Mark 329
Beckwith, Helen 368
Beecher, Catherine 177
Beecher, Edward 169, 171, 172, 183
Beecher, Mrs. Edward 169
Beerbohm-Tree, Herbert 419
Beggs, Stephen R. 330
Belaiev, Victor 310
Bellestre, François Marie Picoté, Sieur de II 42
Belleville, Ill. 493, 494
Belvidere, Ill. 78
Benes, Eduard 396, 398, 408
Benes, Vojta
political leader 383
quoted 384, 389
visits America 393n.
mentioned 385, 386
Bengston, C. E. 229
Bennett, James Gordon 411-12, 418, 421
Bennett and Allied Families 225
Bentley, Thomas 47

Beresford, Lord....422
Bergendoff, Conrad J....368
Bersier, John B....203
Bertrand, Joseph....204
Best, Mrs. Nellie E....234
Beveridge, Albert J....105, 227, 265
Beyer, Richard Lawrence
address by....366
article by....5-21
mentioned....118
"Bibliographic Correction, A"....221
Biography of Roswell B. Mason....114
Bird, Henry....28n., 30
Bird, Mrs. Henry....28n.
Bird's Point, Mo.... 7
Birkbeck, Morris....6, 221
"Bison William"....418
See also Buffalo Bill *and* Cody, William F.
Black, Arthur Davenport.... 94
Black, Carl E....236, 506
Black, Chauncey F.
changes in Lincoln biography....281, 282, 283
contract with Lamon.... 268-69, 271, 273, 280, 284, 285
and Herndon propose Lincoln biography....293-95
in politics....295-96
threatens lawsuit....285, 286
mentioned....267, 270, 272, 276, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292
Black, Jeremiah S.
adviser on Lincoln biography....269, 273
in Buchanan cabinet...263, 268, 275
and Lamon....266, 286
mentioned.... 270, 274, 276, 277, 284, 288, 289
Black Bird (Indian)....336
Black Hawk (Indian)....346, 347, 362
Black Hawk Indian Trail....365
Black Hawk State Park....371
Black Hawk War....346, 497
Black Hollow....492
Black Partridge (Indian)....334, 335
Blackmor, C. P....458
Blades, John J....367
Blair, May....232
Blair, Walter
quoted....356
Blaney, James V. Z....485
Blodgett, D. R....115
Bock, G. G....371
Bode, August....16, 17
Bogardus, John L.
attorney....333-34
ferry of....330, 332
takes census....191
tavern license....328
tax assessor....207
Boggess, Arthur C....221
Bohemia.381, 382, 395, 401, 402, 405..
See also Bohemian National Alliance, Czechoslovakia, *and* Czechs
Bohemian-Americans....396
Bohemian National Alliance
expanded....393, 399-400
founded....391-92
functions....395, 406-407
headquarters in Chicago....394
memo to Wilson....402-403
mentioned...386, 397, 398, 401, 404
Bohman, George V.
article by....107-110
Bombing trial (Springfield).... 96
Bond County, Ill.
agricultural products....143-47, 150
changes in....158
distribution of wealth....152-54
early farming implements 142-43, 146
early homes....150-51
early settlers....140-41
money-lending....156-58
stock-raising....148-50
Bonfield, John.....425, 436, 437n., 439
Bonheur, Rosa....419
Boone, Ben....298
Boone County, Ill....117
Boone County Historical Society...
....117, 230, 365, 369

Booth, Edwin Thomas....419
Borchers, A. W....370
Bordenois, Augustin....203
Bounty laws (United States)...452, 459
Bouquet, Henry....31n., 52n.
Bourassa family....23n.
Boutwell, George....479
Bowlby, Mrs. E. H....232
Bowles, James....324
Boy Scouts.... 11
Boyles, George R....116
Braddock, James J.... 86
Bradford, D. G....109, 110
Bradford, John S.... 68
Bradstreet, John....37n.
Brady, ———....358
Brainard, Daniel....483, 484
Brand, Herbert A....109
Brant, Joseph....44n.
Brant, Molly.... 44
Braucher, H. H.... 87
Brazda, Vojtech....391
Breckinridge, John C.....59, 61
Brecknock, Timothy.....105, 106
Breese, Sidney
 candidate for United States Senate....216-17
 quoted....100
Brehm, Dederick....37n.
Brewer, David J....441
Brewster, Franklin....203, 205
Brewster, William.....203, 204, 205
Briggs, "Daddy"....213
British
 acquire Canada....189
 in Old Northwest.....24, 33, 40-53
 war with United States..344-45, 508
"British Band"....346
Britt, Albert....361, 362
Britton, ——— (captain).....42n.
Britton, Isaac S....219
Broadwell, John....498
Broadwell, Moses....498
Broadwell family....498
Broadwell Tavern, Old (Pleasant Plains)....498
Bromwell, H. P. H....458
Brookport, Ill....13, 75
Brooks, Eli J....368
Brooks, Neil C.... 87
Brooks, Noah....105
"Brother Green" (song).....305-309
Brown, Edward Osgood....428
Brown, Mrs. Lida K....367
Brown, William....135
Brown, Mrs. William Gary.....503
Brown County, Ill....226
Browne, Waldo R.....433n.
Browning, Earl W....234
Bruce, Kathleen....230
Brundage, Hugh....500
Brundages, the....500
Bryan, William Jennings.....
 227, 318, 319, 448
Bryant, Adeline Plummer.....107
Bryant, Mrs. Arthur, Sr.....107
Bryant, Mrs. Austin....107
Bryant, Cyrus....108
Bryant, Grace....369
Bryant, Henrietta Plummer.....107
Bryant, William Cullen..... 59
Bryant family....108
Buchanan, James
 author of book....276
 cabinet of....263, 275
 in literary society..... 59
 policy of....274n.
 seeks constitutional amendment.277
 mentioned....268, 270
Buck, Frank....419
Buck, Mrs. Frank (Amy Leslie)....419
Buck, Solon J....221
Buckingham, Kate S..... 95
"Buffalo Bill" (William F. Cody)
 acts in "Scouts of the Prairie"..
 411, 413-20
 death....423
 fights Indians.....420-21
 guide....412
 Wild West Show.....421-23
Buffington, E. J..... 94
Buisson, Louis....197

Buley, R. Carlyle
quoted....215-16
Bullard, Edgar J....225
Bullard and Allied Families....225
Bumgardner, B. F....451, 452
Bundesen, Herman N.... 90
Bunting, Guy J.... 95
Buntline, Ned (Edward Zane Judson)
discovers Buffalo Bill....411, 412
stages "Scouts of the Prairie" 413-20
Bureau County, Ill....355
Bureau County Historical Society..
....117, 231, 232, 369, 497, 498
Bureau County Sunday School Association....109
Burgoyne, John....508
Burke, Mrs. John A....350
Burlingame, Anson.... 59
Burnet, ——— (captain)....42n.
Burnet, John....50n.
Burns, James T.... 93
Burns, Robert.... 35
Burton, Mrs. Annie C....115
Burton, Charles Pierce....369
Bus wreck (Salem).... 80
Busey, Garreta....500
Buteau, Michel....102
Butler, Benjamin F....286
Butler, William....131
Butler's Rangers....339
Butterfield, Justin....217

Cabins, pioneer....98-99, 150
Cabot, John....253
Cache River....15, 76
Cadotte family....23n.
Cahokia, Ill.
commandant of....486
court at....356-57
restoration proposed....372
road to.... 39
mentioned....100, 504
Cahokia Historical Society....
....372, 503, 504
Cairo, Ill.
bridge dedicated....496
floods....7, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 73
sea wall....74, 76
mentioned....297
Cairo Evening Citizen....14, 16
Caldwell, Archibald
divorce suit against....336-39
mentioned....325, 328
Caldwell, Mrs. Archibald.337, 338, 339
Caldwell, Billy
appraises estate....199
father of....339, 346
goes to reservation....341
marries....340
mentioned....206, 345
Caldwell, Edward
article by....221
Caldwell, Emily....338
Caldwell, Lovisa....336, 337, 338
Caldwell, William....339
Callon, W. P....477
Cambridge, Ill....229
Cameron, John M....362
Cameron, Simon....264
Camp-meeting (Ill.)....103-104
Campau family.... 23
Campbell, A. Courtney....505
Campbell, Donald....31n., 43, 52n.
Campbell, Olive D....301, 316
Campbell, Thomas H....469
Campbell, Thompson.... 97
Canedy, P. C.... 58
Cantonment–Wilkinsonville....229
Canute the Great....253
Capek, Thomas....400n., 402
Capps, Mrs. A. T....182
"Captain Jack" (William H. Walley)
....418, 420
Carbondale, Ill....10, 11, 12, 13
Carey family....108
Carleton, C. G....232
Carlstrom, Oscar E....364
Carlton, James B....107
Carlton, John....107
Carlton, Obadiah....107
Carlton, Polly....107
Carlton family....108

Carlyle, Ill. 232
Carmi, Ill. 222
Carroll, Daniel 503
Carroll County, Ill. 112
Carter, Clarence E. 499
Carthage, Ill. 363, 505
Cartwright, Richard 41n.
Cartwright, Richard, Jr. 51
Carver, Johnathan 37n.
Cass, Lewis 200
Caterpillar Tractor Company (East Peoria) 81, 82
Catlin, Joel 172
Catlin, Margaret 185
Caton, John Dean 355
Cattle-raising (Bond County) 147, 148, 149
Cauchois family 23n.
Cavarly, A. W. 337
Central Powers 399, 407
Century Magazine 431, 433n.
Cermak, Anton J. 400n.
Cermak, Josef 391, 400n.
Cerré, Gabriel 47
Cerré family 23
Cerro Gordo, Battle of 161, 164, 165, 216
Cervenka, John A. 386
Chaboillez family 23n.
Chadband, ——— (minister) 490
Chadsey, H. C., & Co. 134
Changing West, The 253, 360
Charles I 407, 408
Charleville family 23
Chase, Stuart 20, 21
Chee-chee-been-quay, Che-pen-qua (Indian) 341, 342, 503
Chevalier, Catherine 342
Chevalier, J. B. 206
Chevalier family 23n.
Chicago, Ill.
 babies die in epidemic 93
 Bohemian National Alliance in 391-94, 406
 centennial 78
 county seat of Cook County . 192, 343
 Czechs in 381-410
 French settlers in 100
 general strike in 424-25
 Haymarket Affair 427-47
 infantile paralysis epidemic 89, 90, 91
 landmarks in 363
 in Peoria County 191, 193, 194, 196, 342
 Rush Medical School in 483
 taxi-drivers' strike 79, 80
 University of 80
 World's Fair (1893) 422, 445
Chicago Alliance 394
Chicago Art Institute 95
Chicago Daily News 436
Chicago Herald 440
Chicago Historical Society 232, 366, 501
Chicago Inter-Ocean 439
Chicago Law Institute 372
Chicago Lawn Historical Society 232, 367, 501
Chicago Precinct (Peoria County)
 created 193, 194
 divorce suit in 327
 first election in 208, 341
 tavern licenses in 328-29, 337
 mentioned 192
Chicago River 189
Chicago Times 439
Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly 442n.
Chicago Tribune
 quoted 440, 443, 446, 473-74
 mentioned 441, 442
Chief Justice Taft 363
Chippewa Indians 333, 341, 343
Chittick, Thomas 367
Chladek, Mrs. E. J. 236, 368, 502
Church, A. B. 107
Cincinnati, Ohio 7, 280, 281, 282, 285
Civilian Conservation Corps 14, 75
Clark, Dwight F. 117, 233, 504
Clark, George Rogers . . . 38n., 40n., 189

Clark, John K.....195
Clark, John S.
in Osgood publishing firm.....
.....265, 271, 274, 283
mentioned.....285, 286
Clark, Mrs. Kate S.....234
Clark, William.....335
Clark County, Ill.....191
Clarke, Simon.....202
Clay City, Ill.....78, 83
Clay County, Ill..... 78
Clemmons, Katherine.....422
Clybourn, Archibald
buys Wallace goods.....206
constable in Chicago.....193
defeated for justice of peace.....195
keeps ferry.....331
tavern license.....328, 336-37
Clybourn, Henley.....194, 195, 206
Clybourn, Jonas.....206
Coaching Club (London).....422
Coal miners' strike.....81, 83, 84
Cobweb Castle or Hall (Chicago)..
.....194, 342
Cochrane, Anne H.....262
Cody, William F. ("Buffalo Bill")
actor.....411, 412, 413, 418, 419
death.....423
Indian fighter.....420, 421
Wild West Show.....412, 422, 423
Cody, Mrs. William F.....413, 416
Cody, Wyo.....422
Cogswell, William.....112
Collins, ———.....456
Collins, James H.....355
Collot, Victor..... 26
Colton, Betsey.....107
Colton, Jonathan S.....107
"Come All You Texas Rangers" (song) 299
Committee of Industrial Organization.....80, 81
Conant, Shubael.....199
Concordia Theological Seminary.... 71
Conger, John L.....371
Congregational Church, First Independent (Princeton).....107, 108
Congregational Church, Hampshire Colony (Princeton) .107, 108, 110
Congress of Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities.....402
Congress of Representatives of Oppressed Nationalities of Austria
.....406, 407
Conkling, James C.....54, 56, 67, 469
Connor, Robert D. W.....495
"Contributions to Chicago History from Peoria County Records"
Part I.....188-212
Part II.....323-43
Cook, B. C.....459
Cook, Frank....456, 461, 462, 465, 466
Cook, Harry Dewitt
appointed claim agent for Ill....
.....452, 470
appointed military agent for Ill.
.....451
bill for work as claim agent.....
.....472-73, 476
biographical sketch.....449-50
closes Ill. agency in Washington
.....466, 469, 477
remuneration as military and claim agent.....478
report on Ill. agency....467-68, 481
work as Ill. claim agent.....
.....453-65, 471, 474, 478, 480
Cook, Mrs. Harry Dewitt.464, 465, 473
Cook, Ida.....464, 465
Cook County, Ill.....192
Corbet, Mrs. C. C.....115
Corbett family.....108
Corn
husking contest.....92-93
prices rise..... 84
yield in Bond County.....145, 147
yield in Illinois..... 93
Coughlin, The People v.....430, 435
Countryman, Frederick.....327
Coureurs de bois.....24, 40
Courier, Fr.....486
Cox, Isaac J.....230
Crafts, Esther.....200

Crafts, John
with American Fur Company....208, 342
death....200
estate of....199-200, 341
personal taxes....196
wardrobe of....197-98
mentioned....201, 340
Crain, H. P....320
Crane, Walter....442n.
Cravener, John M....232
Crawford, Newton....451
Crawford County, Ill....191
Crittenden Amendment....277
Croatians....385
Crocker, Herbert C....115
Crocker, Sarah....168, 173
Croghan, George....26, 42
Cronin case....430, 435
Crozier, Simon....197, 330
Cuillerier, Angelique....36n.
Cullom, Shelby M....56, 68
Curie, Mlle ———.... 43
Custer, George A....420
Cuthbert, Norma....295n.
Czech-American Office of the Press..385
Czech Council in Russia....397n.
Czech Revolutionary Committee...396
Czech Student Association....389
Czechoslovak Red Cross....386, 390
Czechoslovak Relief Association...387
Czechoslovakia
American view toward....407
army of....403-404, 406
immigrants in Chicago....393
movement for independence....381, 390, 404-405, 408-409
president of....396
See also Bohemia, Czechs, *and* Slovaks
Czechs
in Bohemian National Alliance....391-95, 397, 399-400, 401, 402-403, 404, 406-407
contribution of American....409-10
leaders in Chicago....388-91
leaders in United States....402
members of Austrian Parliament....405, 406
National Council of Czech Countries....396, 398, 399, 403, 404-405, 406, 407, 408, 409
nationalism....381
Pilsen Park meeting in Chicago....385-87
Revolutionary Committee in Paris....396
seek independence....390, 404-405, 408-409
social units in America....382-84
See also Czechoslovakia

Dale, Douglas....115
Daniel, E....225
Darrow, Clarence..428, 430, 444n., 446
Dartmouth, Earl of....27n.
Daughters of American Colonists..498
Daughters of American Revolution
honor Grant....364-65
mark historic sites....496-97
present Lincoln family monument to Ill....364
propose Knoxville historical society....508
unveil tablet....498
Daughters of 1812....365
Davenport, George....335
Davidson, Mrs. Charles E....498
Davidson, Mary S....223
Davis, Abel....72, 225
Davis, David
seeks presidential nomination....265, 278, 281, 282, 285
mentioned....269, 273, 277, 279, 280, 294, 361
Davis, Jefferson....59, 61, 441
Davis, Robert W....18, 77
Dawes, Charles G....117
Decatur, Ill....237, 506
Decatur Herald and Review....506
Decatur Times....357

Declaration of Czechoslovak Independence....408
DeCleyre, Voltairine....439n.
De Gannes Memoir
quoted....99-100
Delahay, Mark W....130
Delanglez, Jean....360
De Liette, Pierre....188
Democratic Party
election of 1882....296
platform in 1896....448
reform element in 1893....445, 446
mentioned....270, 296, 440
Denni Hlasatel....383
Dennis, Charles M....368
DeSoto Hotel (Galena)....505
Detroit, Mich....22, 33, 34, 336
Dewey, Mrs. C. M....185
Dial, John L....111
Dibelka, J....390
Dickens, Charles
quoted....492-94
Dickey, T. Lyle....450
Dickson Indian Mounds....229
Die Arbeiter Zeitung....425, 438
"Dilly Song"....314
Dixon, John....326, 327
Dixon, Ill....78
Dobie, Richard....29n., 37n.
Dodge, R....57
Dodson, Lilian May (Mrs. Laurence M. Larson)....250
Donnell, H. C....71
Donnelley, Joseph P....503
"Don't You Know" (song)....318-20
Doolittle, Asher....107
Doolittle, Deborah....107
Doolittle, Eunice....107
Doolittle, Harriet....107
Doolittle, Joel....107
Doolittle, Laura....107
Doolittle, Melissa....107
Doolittle, Selbie....107
Douglas, Stephen A.
debates with Lincoln..132, 133, 497
in literary society....59
resolutions on death of....60
speech on Harris....160-63
mentioned....83, 118, 270, 361, 364
Downer, Ernest R....369
Doyle, Alexander....195, 208, 210, 326, 327
Doyle, Cornelius J....366
Drake, Daniel
quoted....103, 485
mentioned....482
Drake, Jane....107
Drake family....108
Dreyer, E. S....428, 439
Drouillard family....23
Dubois, Jesse K....59
Dubois, Lincoln....59
Dubuque, Augustin....486
Dubuque, Jean Bte....486
DuCharme, Charles....486
Dummer, Charles Henry....135, 137
Dummer, Henry E.
ancestry....125
biographical sketch..126-27, 134-36
correspondence with Lincoln....111-12, 128-34
Dummer, Jeremiah....125, 126
Dummer, Jeremy....125
Dummer, Richard....125
Dummer, William....125
Dummer, Mrs. William F.112, 127, 137
Dunbar, Louise B....230
Duncan, Joseph....166
Duncan, Mrs. Joseph....166, 185
Duncan, Matthew....489
Dunmore, Lord....339
Dunne, Edward F....83, 428
Dunraven, Lord....413
DuPage County, Ill....229
Durg, Cale....414, 416, 418
Durich, Josef....396, 397n.
"Dutch Courtship" (song).299, 303-305
"Dying Soldier, The" (song)....305, 306, 309-310
Dynes, Mrs. O. W....496

Eads, James B.....118
Eagle Forgotten.....360
Eahart, William.....325
Early, Jacob M.....497
East, Ernest E.
articles by.....188-212, 323-43
mentioned.....237, 371, 373
East Peoria, Ill.....81, 82
Eaton, J. H.....479
Ebersold, Frederick.....436, 437n.
Eckels, James S.....109
Edgar, Herman.....28n.
Edgar, John.....51, 52
Edgar, Mrs. John.....52n.
Edgar, William.....28n., 30, 31
Edgar County Historical Society....504
Education
in Illinois.....167, 168, 174, 183
in Morgan County, Illinois.....175
in Sangamon County, Illinois...176
See also Ladies' Association for Educating Females *and* Ladies' Education Society
Edwards, ——— (minister).....109
Edwards, Ninian.....334, 358
Edwards, Ninian W.....68, 129
Edwards County, Ill.....191
Edwardsville, Ill.....158
Edwardsville Intelligencer.....233
"Egypt" (Southern Ill.)..6, 8, 10, 13, 19
Eichhorn Cave Park.....507
Eisenschiml, Otto...116, 235, 367, 503
Elizabethtown, Ill.....8, 75
Ellis, Celeste (Mrs. John Millot Ellis).....167, 184, 186
Ellis, E. W.....115
Ellis, John Millot.....167
Ellis, Mrs. John Millot (Celeste Ellis).....167, 184, 186
Ellsworth, Spencer.....192
Elmhurst Press.....229
Elmira, Ill.....365
Elsperman, Charles.....370
Emancipation Proclamation.....495
Emergency Relief Commission (Ill.) 9
Emerson, Joseph.....171
Emmerson, Louis L.....495, 496
Emmet, Thomas Addis.....199
Engagés.....39, 40
Engel, George.....426, 427
England.....344
See also British
Englewood, Ill.....367
Englewood Historical Society.....367
English, Mrs. Henry W. (Sara John English)
article by.....221-24
mentioned.....225, 365, 497, 506
English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians.....301
English Revolutionary Committee in Paris.....396
Eno, Edward I.....457
Ericson, Eston Everett
article by.....105-106
Erie Canal.....342
Esbjorn, L. P.....58, 68
Evanston Historical Society.....116, 233, 504
Evansville, Ind.....16
Evarts, Jeremiah.....456
Everett, Mrs. A. S.....458
Everett, Edward.....59
Eversole, Mildred
article by.....72-96
mentioned.....118
Evjen, Harry
article by.....54-71
mentioned.....118

Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation.....77, 78
"Farming in Illinois a Century Ago as Illustrated in Bond County"..138-59
Farming implements (Bond County).....142-43, 146
Farnham, Lucien.....107
Farthing, Paul.....85
Favor, Otis S.....435
Fayette County, Ill.....89
Federal Art Project.....226
Federal Writers' Project.....112

Fell, Jesse W.....281, 282, 361
Fellows, Flora.....117
Felts, Troy.....312
Fenoglio, T. A.....369
Fever River Precinct.....194, 196
Field, Clem V.....109
Field, Mrs. Clem V.....109
Field, Mrs. Delia Spencer Caton.... 88
Field, Marshall..... 88
Field, Pearl I.....503
Field family.....108
Field v. *The People of the State of Illinois*.....223
Fielden, Samuel
characterized.....437-38
death sentence for.....426
life imprisonment for.....427
pardoned.....434, 439, 446
Fields, Cyrus..... 59
Fields, Osgood & Company (Boston).....270
Fields, Ticknor and (Boston).....270
Fifer, Joseph W.....92, 427, 507
File, Henry.....153, 154
Financial and Administrative History of Milwaukee.....252
Fink, F. C.....498
Fink, Mike.....356
Finley, R. H....305, 307, 309, 318, 319
Fischer, August.....426, 427
Fish and game code (Ill.)..... 87
Fishback, J.....461, 462, 470
Fisher, Ludvik.....391
Fishing (Peoria Lake).....99-100
Fiske, Franklin.....453
Fitzgerald, George Robert.....105
Flagg, Edmund
quoted.....98-99, 214-15
mentioned.....24n.
Fleming, Sampson.....30n., 31n., 37n.
Floods (Ill.)
article on.....5-21
mentioned.....73-77, 78, 95
Flory, Jonah.....465
Flower, George.....221
Folk songs (Southern Ill.).....297-322
Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians.....316
Folk-Songs of the West.....314
Forbes, Stephen.....196
Ford, ——— (captain).....487
Ford, Guy Stanton.....252
Ford, Henry.....421
Ford, Thomas
quoted.....100-102, 223, 353-54
Forsyth, Thomas....190, 333, 335, 336
Forsythe, ———.....42n.
Fort Armstrong.....487
Fort Clark.....191
Fort Dearborn.....78-79, 189, 190
Fort Malden.....189
Fort Wayne, Ind..... 45
Fort Wilbourn.....497
Fowler, Austin H.....458
Fowler, F. S.....231, 369, 498
Fox, Dixon Ryan.....366
Fox Indians.....346, 347
France.....404
Francis, Allen & Stone.....219
Fraser, Alexander..... 47
Fraser, W. J..... 87
Frederick, John T.....112
"Freedom on the March" (pageant).359
Freeport, Ill.....133
Freese, L. J.....507
French
dress, in Illinois.....101-102
dress, in Old Northwest.....27-30
families in Old Northwest....23-24
habits, in Old Northwest.....25-31
lose Canada to British.....189
recreation, in Old Northwest..33-53
"French and British at Play in the Old Northwest, 1760-1796".... 22-53
Frey, Mrs. William E.....234
Fridley, B. F.....355
"Froggie Went A-Courtin' " (song).....299, 300
Fryxell, F. M.....371
Full Description of the Military Lands Between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, A.....221

Fuller, S. S. 116
Fulton, Samuel 196
Fulton County, Ill. 191
Fur traders 22, 24

Gage, Lyman J. 428, 438
Gage's Light Infantry 42
Galena, Ill. 78, 196, 353, 354
Galena-Chicago stage coach road ... 365
Galena Civic Center and Museum of History and Art 504
Galena Historical Association 370, 504, 505
Galena River 78
Gallatin County, Ill. 6, 20
Galt, P. H. 488
Garnett, ——— (judge) 443
Garraghan, Gilbert J. 323
Gary, Joseph E.
 Altgeld attacks 438, 439, 442, 443, 444n.
 candidate for judge 445-46
 comment on anarchists 437
 criticizes Altgeld's pardon message 433
 elected judge 447
 trial of anarchists 426, 428, 431, 435
Gaston, William 298
Genealogy of the Coleman-Poole and Allied Families 225
"Genealogy of the Strycker Family" 225
Genealogy of the Vail Family 225
George III 486
Germans 387
Germany 407
Gibault, Pierre 51
Gilham, James 129, 154
Gillan, John H. 94
Gillespie, Joseph
 quoted 213, 354-55
Gillespie, Ill. 83
Gipson, Mrs. Maude 314
Girardin family 23
Girault, Jean 46n.
Glamorous Galena and Jo Daviess County 505
Glass, E. B. 117
Glencoe Historical Society 368
Glidewell, Mrs. B. J. 232
Glover residence (Ottawa) 497
"God Knows I' Been All Around This World" (song) 299
Godfrey, Benjamin 499
Golconda, Ill. 8, 74, 75
Gold brick game 217-19
Good, ——— 103
Goudy, Robert 170
Goudy, William C. 428
Gouin, Miss ——— 30
Grand Marais, Le 34, 37
Grant, ——— (captain) 42n.
Grant, Alexander 41, 48
Grant, Mrs. Alexander 48
Grant, Harlo 116
Grant, Ulysses S.
 birthday anniversary 364-65
 in Galena 505
 in Jacksonville 183
 letters of, in Historical Library .. 112
 mentioned 118
Grant, Zilpah 180
 See also Bannister, Mrs.
Gravier, Jacques 101
Great Indian Chiefs 361
Greeley, Horace 59
Greenback Party 97
Greene, Evarts Boutell ... 252, 257, 258
Greenleaf, Simon 126
Grimes, John M. 110
Grinnell, Julius S. 435, 438
Grubb, George G. 131
Gunderson, Seward M. 368
Gunnarson, Charles 367
Guthrie, ——— 220

Haberman, Gustav 383
Habitants 24, 36
Habsburg Empire 405
Hale, ——— 176
Hale, Mrs. Sarah 185
Half-day (Indian) 327
Hall, David, Jr. 206
Hall, Emily 336

Hall, Mrs. Mary Stuart....498
Halpin, W. J....417
Hamill, Charles P....371
Hamilton, Alexander.... 95
Hamilton, Henry....27n., 37n.
Hamlin, John....197, 211, 212, 330
Hamlin, Mrs. John....211
Hamlin, Orin....195
Hammerschmidt, Theodore F....229
Hammond, James.... 61
Hamtramck, John....51, 52n.
Hancock County Historical Society 369, 505
Handerson, Phineas....200
Handerson, Mrs. Phineas (Hannah M.)....200
Hardin, E. C....235
Hardin, John J....129, 130
Hardy, David M....350
Harkey, S. W....54, 55, 66, 67, 68
Harland, M. J....234
Harlow, George H....468, 496
Harmar, Josiah....52n.
Harper, John....472
Harper's Weekly....489
Harrington, Joseph....502
Harris, Mrs. Jean W....262n.
Harris, Thomas L.
biographical sketch....160-65
Harris, Mrs. Thomas L....163
Harrisburg, Ill.
flood....16, 18, 73, 74, 75, 76
Harrison, Carter H....425, 438
Harrison, William Henry....341
Harrisonville, Ill....349
Harrower, David W.... 70
Harvey, ———....456
Hasbrouck, Jacob L....505
Haskell, Fritz....506
Haskins, Charles H....251
Hat Creek, Wyo....420
Hatfield, James....504
Hauberg, John H....371
Haugean movement....247
Havana, Ill.... 92
Hawley, E. B.... 58
Hawthorne, Nathaniel....126
Hay, Augustus Leonard.... 64
Hay, Ella.... 64
Hay, Henry....27n., 29n., 45, 46
Hay, John (Jehu)....27n., 30
Hay, John Milton....64, 65, 296, 489
Hayes, John A....115
Haymarket Riot (Chicago)
described....424-25
pardon for rioters.... 359, 427-44, 447
trial of rioters....426
Haynie, I. N....452, 454, 457, 465
Heacock, Russell E....329
Health, Department of (Ill.)....9, 18
Heghin, Y. A....507
Helderman, L. C....230
"Hell and High Water" (article)...5-21
Helm, Edwin....334
Helm, Linai Taliafero....333, 335
Helm, Mrs. Linai Taliafero (Margaret McKillip)....333, 334, 336
Helwig, Richard O....232, 502
Hendrickson, Mrs. Lottie
sings folk songs....300, 301, 305 307, 310, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317
Henkle, [E. M.?]....220
Henry, A. G....129
Henry, Alexander....37n., 38
Henry, James D....347
Henry E. Legler Regional Library (Chicago)....503
Henson, Allen....298
Henson, Mrs. Belle W....115
Herndon, W. H.
biography of Lincoln....295
contract with Lamon....294
letter to Black....280
Lincolniana of....267, 293
mentioned....265, 274, 290, 292
Herndon Brothers....228
Herodotus.... 65
Herrick, Lott R.... 91
Herrin, Ill.... 73
Hertz, Emanuel....265, 277
Hickok, James Butler ("Wild Bill") 420

Highways, Division of (Ill.).....9, 20
Hill, Mrs. F. W.....368
Hill carding machine (New Salem).228
Hillsboro, Ill.....54, 55, 60
Hillsboro College.....54, 56, 59, 65
Himmel, Harry.....367
Hinrichsen, William H.....433
Historic St. Joseph Island.....227
Historical Association of St. Clair County.....371
Historical Development of Jasper County, Illinois.....362
Historical Records Survey.....226, 363
History, sources of.....138-40
Hoener, Mrs. Ambrose.....350
Hogan, John S. C.....195
Holland, Ephraim.....200
Holland, Mrs. Ephraim (Nancy)...200
Holland, J. S.....290
Holmes, Oliver Wendell..... 59
Hoover, J. Edgar..... 96
Horacek, A.....391
Horner, Henry
 flood relief work..... 9
 inauguration..... 73
 signs bills.....79, 87
 speaks.....86, 89, 359
 mentioned.....72, 498
Horsky-Konicek, ———.....397
Hotz, Ferdinand, Jr.....368
House, Albert V., Jr.
 article by.....262-96
 mentioned.....372
House, Edward Mandell.....402, 407
Houston, Sam..... 59
Hovey, Charles E.....266
Howard, John Tasker.....305, 307
Howells, William Dean.....500
Hoyt, Lumas.....365
Hrdlicka, Alex.....400
Hubbard, Gurdon S.....114, 199, 203
Huff, James.....117
Hughes, Edward J.....73, 495, 496, 498
Humphrey, John.....202, 207
Humphrey, Mrs. John.....202
Hunter, David..194, 195, 210, 211, 212
Hunter, Howard A.....371, 506
Hunting (Ill.).....99, 101
Hutchins, Thomas.....33n., 35n., 38n.
Hyde, Norman
 judge.....195, 200, 205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 323, 324

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'.101
Iles, Elijah.....497
Illinois
 Archives Building.....85, 495
 Bank of.....158
 Birkbeck's settlement in.....221
 claim agent
 See Cook, Harry Dewitt
 Cook County created.....192
 corn crop sets record..... 93
 Department of Health.....9, 18
 Department of Public Works and Buildings.....118, 228
 Division of Department Reports.113
 Division of Parks.....229
 education
 See "Ladies' Association for Educating Females"
 election of 1830.....488-89
 floods.....5-21, 73-77, 78, 95
 folk songs in southern.....297-322
 Fourth Infantry.....450
 Haymarket Affair.....424-48
 ice storms.....72, 95
 laws.....77, 79, 82, 86, 87, 88
 legislators at banquet.....351
 medical colleges in.....482-85
 military agent
 See Cook, Harry Dewitt
 museum extension project.....508
 oil wells.....
 76, 77, 83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94
 Peoria County created.....191, 207
 record preservation in.....496
 Sanitary Bureau.....450
 Sanitary Commission.....457
 sixtieth general assembly.....72, 86
 state fair.....88, 89
 state house (Kaskaskia).....100

state house (Springfield)..... 97
"sucker" state.....353-54
Supreme Court.....
.....77, 82, 85, 426, 430, 435
Twenty-ninth Cavalry.....457
University of.....78, 86, 88, 92, 113, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259
Vandalia capital of.....501
Illinois Central Railroad.....113, 114
Illinois College.....167, 169, 170, 483
Illinois Conference Female College..184
Illinois Garden Club.....496
Illinois Guardsman, The..... 18
Illinois Guide.....112
Illinois Library Association.....495
Illinois Medical and Surgical Journal..485
Illinois National Guard
.....9, 11, 16, 18, 75, 77
"Illinois in 1937".....72-96
Illinois River..... 92
Illinois, Spies v.....430
"Illinois State Agent in Washington, An".....449-81
Illinois State Historical Library
art exhibit in.....507
Dummer letters in.....127-28, 137
gifts to.....111-12, 225
Lincoln letters in.....495
trustee of.....258
Illinois State Historical Society
annual meeting.....365-66
Journal of.....111, 360, 504, 509
mentioned...236, 259, 495, 496, 509
Illinois State Journal
quoted.....97-98, 489-91
Illinois State Museum.....508
Illinois State Planning Commission 113
"Illinois State University 1852-1868"
.....54-71
Indiana..... 8
Indiana Historical Society.....227
Indians.....361, 508
See also names of tribes
Infantile paralysis epidemic.....90, 91
Ingersoll, Robert G.....227
Inland Steel Company (Chicago Heights, East Chicago).....84, 87
Insurance code (Ill.)..... 86
International Livestock Exposition (Chicago)..... 94
Iska, Frank.....399
Italy.....404

Jacksonville, Ill.
cholera epidemic.....168
Civil War feeling in.....183
colleges in.....167, 170, 184, 483
Ladies' Association for Educating Females.....
.....166, 167, 172, 173, 175
one hundred and thirtieth anniversary.....236
Jacksonville Female Academy.....184
Jahelka, Joseph
article by.....381-410
mentioned.....509
James, James A.....233, 366
James Keeley, Newspaperman.....114
Janis family..... 23
Jarrett, Mrs. Alice Stuvé.....224
Jarvis, ——— (captain)..... 44
Jarvis, Mrs. ———..... 44
Jasper County, Ill.....362
Jefferson, Joe.....417
Jefferson, Thomas..... 47
Jeffreys, George, first Baron.....438
Jennings, John.....23n.
Jesuits.....31, 32
Jewett, Eleanor.....366
"Jim Bludso" (ballad).....489
Jo Daviess County, Ill.....226
John Toman Branch Library (Chicago).....502
John Yates.....225
Johnson, Andrew.....458
Johnson, Benjamin.....154
Johnson, James.....353
Johnson, Richard M.....345
Johnson, Sir William.....42, 43, 44
Johnson City, Ill..... 73
Joliet, Ill.....429, 447

Jolliet, Louis.....188, 189, 190, 360
Jones, Mrs. ———.....52n.
Jones, Betty.....321
Jones, Edgar DeWitt.....227
Jones, Henricus.....483
Jones, Henry.....320
Jones, William.....299
Jones, Mrs. William.....299
Jordan family.....108
Joseph (Indian).....362
Josette (Indian).....336, 337
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.....111, 360, 504, 509
Joy, Tillman.....489, 490
Judson, Edward Zane (Ned Buntline).....411, 414, 418
Jugoslavs.....406
"Julius Caesar" (play).....417
"Junto".....128

Kallenberg, Henry F.....368
Kapp, John W.....495
Kaskaskia.....31, 32, 38-39, 100
Kaskaskia River.....73, 113
Keeley, James.....114
Keith, ——— (ship captain).....204
Kelly, Edward J.....89
Kemp, Mrs. John Edward.....497
Kensington Rune Stone.....253-54
Kenyon, William S.....403
Kerner, Otto.....73, 400n.
Kerner, R. J.....400n.
Ketchum, ———.....470, 471
Kickapoo Indians.....482
King, William Henry.....403
"King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest, The"..251
King's Mirror, The.....253
Kinnaird, Virginia.....366
Kinney, William.....488, 489
Kinzie, James
 buys Wallace goods.....206
 hunts corpse.....323
 presents bill.....324
 tavern of.....337
 mentioned.....195, 199, 326
Kinzie, John
 appraises estate.....199
 buys cabin.....323
 buys Wallace goods.....206
 election judge.....194, 341
 establishes trading house.....189
 estate of.....208, 211, 212
 half-brother of.....333
 heirs of.....333, 336
 justice of peace.....207, 342
 letter to.....335
 life saved.....340
 loss of trade.....190
 performs marriages.....193
 son of.....210
Kinzie, Mrs. John H..190, 194, 323, 340
Kinzie, Maria Indiana.....210
Kinzie, Nellie.....335
Kinzie, R. A.....210, 212
Kinzie, Forsyth and Company (Peoria Lake).....190
Kirk, Thomas.....336, 338
Kirk, William.....325
Kishwaukee River.....78
Klofac, Vaclav.....383
Knipp, C. T.....87
Know-nothing Party.....55
Knox County, Ill.....508
Knoxville, Ill.....508
Knudson, Mrs. T. J.....496
Koockogey, Arnold.....262n.
Kralicek, V.....391
Kramar, Karel.....389

Labadie family.....23
Labuxiere, Joseph.....357, 486
LaCroix, J. B. H.....23, 357, 486
"Ladies' Association for Educating Females, 1833-1937".....166-87
 centennial.....167, 185
 finances.....173-74, 176-77, 178-79, 181, 182
 first public meeting.....172-73
 name changed.....180
 organization of.....166, 167, 169-70

Ladies' Education Society
activity during Civil War....183-84
incorporated.....184-85
influence of.....186
name adopted.....180
Laducia, Francis.....326
"Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" (song).....300-303
La Famille Alix du Mesnil.....225
Lafayette, Marquis de.....222
La Forest, François de.....188
Lafortune, Jean Baptiste.....202, 203
Laframbois, Glode.....202, 203
Lagron, Naomi.....234
Lake County, Ill.....77, 78
Lake Springfield.....496
Lake View, Ill.....234
La Lime, Jean.....190
Lamon, Ward H.
almanac story.....105
biographical sketch.....266-67
Black threatens to sue.....286
changes in Lincoln biography...272, 273, 274n., 277-78, 281, 282, 283
characterized.....275n.
contract with Black.....268-69, 271, 280, 284, 285
contract with Osgood & Company.....270, 271, 285-93
press comment on Lincoln biography.....287-91
supports Davis.....281
uses Herndon records.....294-95
La Mothe, Guillaume..... 36
Lamsett, Peter.....327
Lamsett, Pierre.....325
Land prices (Bond County).....142, 151-52, 154
Landre, Pierre.....197
Lange, Louise A.....366
Langer, ——— (judge).....391
Langlade family.....23n.
Langworthy, Cyrus.....110
Lansden, John M..... 5
Lansing, Robert.....401, 406, 407, 408
Larson, Christian.....246
Larson, Laurence M.
birth.....246
characterized.....245, 247, 249, 253, 254-55, 258, 259-60
death.....261, 366
early life.....247-48
education.....248-51
honored.....260
retires..... 87
at University of Illinois.....252-59
writings of...245, 251, 252, 253, 360
La Salle, Robert Cavelier, sieur de 188, 360, 361
La Salle County, Ill.....497
La Salle Precinct (Peoria County)..194
Laughton, Barney.....206
Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago).....502
Leach, Henry Goddard.....369
Lead mines (Galena).....353, 354
Lee-Harper unemployment insurance law..... 86
Lees, John.....37n.
Legrand family..... 23
Leith, ——— 49
Le Mai.....190, 323, 325
See also May, Francis
Lemont strike.....442n.
Lenz Family, The.....225
Leslie, Amy (Mrs. Frank Buck)....419
Letters Relating to Gustaf Unonius and the Early Swedish Settlers in Wisconsin.....226
Levesque, ———.....202
Levy, Isaac.....102
Lewis, Fred.....117
Lewis, Joseph.....219
Lewis, Louie E..... 72
Lewis, Thomas..... 54
Liberal Republicans..265, 280, 281, 282
Life of Abraham Lincoln by Howells..500
Life of Abraham Lincoln by Lamon 262-96
Lilly, Eli.....227
Lincoln, Abraham
almanac story.....105-106

biographies of, campaign.....262
campaign of 1858.....370
daughter-in-law dies..... 81
debates with Douglas.132, 133, 497
at Fort Wilbourn.....497
garden, memorial to.....496
Howells' life of 500
on Illinois State University Board.....57, 58
Lamon biography of.....262-96
letter of quoted.....219
letters of in Historical Library.. 111-12, 128-37, 495
in Livingston County.....233
member of "Junto".....128
monument to (opposite Vincennes, Ind.).....364
oratory of.....227
practices at Mt. Pulaski.....228
relations with Dummer..125, 126-36
relics of.....508
resolutions on death of..... 61
statue in Macon County proposed.....506
story about Springfield..... 97
tomb.....364
Trumbull associate of.....432
mentioned.....60, 64 77, 82, 86, 113, 118, 183, 361, 450
Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham.....495
Lincoln, Robert Todd 58, 59, 62, 64, 81
Lincoln, Mrs. Robert Todd..... 81
Lincoln, Thomas.....228
Lincoln, Ill.....229
Lincoln family.....364
Lincoln Memorial Bridge.....364
Lincoln Trail.....364
Lindley, Jacob.....26n., 33n.
Lindsay, Vachel..... 93
Lingg, Louis.....426, 427
Lingle, Leland P..... 11
Linn, James Weber.....114
Lintner & Co. (Decatur).....357
Lippencott, Thomas.....172
Little Bighorn River.....420
"Little Breeches" (ballad).....489
Livingston County Historical Society.....233, 370
Lloyd, Henry D.....445, 446
Lockwood, Samuel D.....197, 223
Locofoco Party.....128
"Log Book of a Young Immigrant, The".....245
Logan, Stephen T.....129, 132, 219
Logan County, Ill.....191
Long Beach Conference of Foreign Relations.....402
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth.....126
"Looking-Glass Prairie".....492
Loomis, J. S.....469
"Lord Dundreary" (play).....417
Lords of Speech.....227
Louis, Joe..... 86
Louis XIV.....101
Louisville, Ky.....14, 482
Louisville Institute.....485
Lovejoy, Owen.....109, 355
Lowden, Frank O..... 87
Lowden, Mrs. Frank O..... 87
Lowman, Annie.....372
Loyola University.....360
Lozon, Clemon.....203
Lozon, Morice.....203, 205
Lusson, Father.....323
Luther, Martin.....250
Lutheran Church, Evangelical...56, 70
Lutheran Seminary of the West.... 71
Lutherans.....57, 247, 248
Lyon, Mary.....180
Lyttle, Charles.....230

McAndrew, William..... 11
Ma-ca-ta-po-kee (Indian).....335
McBride, Marguerite.....116
McBride, Mrs. Thurlow.....368
McClaughry, R. W.....429
McClellan, George B..... 59
McClernand, John A.....112
McConnell, Samuel P..... 428, 432, 433, 437n.
McCormick Harvester Company (Chicago).....425, 436n.

McCulloch, Hugh 458, 470, 471, 474, 475
MacDonald, James 28n.
McDonough College 110
McGill, James 29n.
Mach, Josef 385
McIlvaine, Caroline 363
McIntosh, David S.
article by 297-322
mentioned 372-73
McIntosh, W. D. 304
McKee, David 206, 324, 338, 340
McKenzie, Claire 372
Mackinaw Precinct 194
McKinley, William 318, 319
McKinsey, James O. 94
McKinstry family 108
McLean County, Ill. 191
McLean County Historical Society . 505
McMaster, Mrs. Alia 117
McNight, ——— 358
Macon County, Ill. 506
Macon County Historical Society ... 370, 505, 506
Madison County, Ill. 191
Madison County Historical Society 115, 233, 370
Madsen, Ellen Mathilde 246
Magill, Hugh S. 497
Magruder, Benjamin D. 430
Maguire, Patricia 92
Major, J. Earl 96
Mandel, Frank C. 80
Mandel, Simon 80
Mann, Horace 59
Mardi Gras (Illinois Country) 41
Marean, Blanche 117
Marean, Fred 117, 369
Marest, Pierre Gabriel 101
Marion, Ill. 19, 73
Marion County, Ill. 76, 89
Marquette, Jacques 188, 360, 361
Marshall County, Ill. 191
Martin, John C. 73
Martin family 108
Maryland (ship) 246
"Maryland, My Maryland" (song) .. 303
Masaryk, Thomas G.
president of National Council of Czech Countries 396
quoted 402
represents Czechs 395
represents Liberation Movement . 407
seeks funds for Czech cause 396-97, 398
seeks rights for Bohemia 389
signs Declaration of Czechoslovak Independence 408
visits United States 383, 384, 406, 407
Mason, Roswell B. 113, 114
Mason County, Ill. 191
Matheny, N. W. 220
Matthews, Thomas A. 368
Maunie, Ill. 74
Maxwell, William 31
May, Francis 323, 324, 325
See also Le Mai
Maypole, George M. 72
Maytag, F. L. 80
Maze, Adele H. 234
Mead, Caroline 200
Mead, Harriett 200
Mead, Samuel 200
Mead, Mrs. Samuel 200
Medical College of Ohio 485
Medical Institute of Louisville 482
Medical remedies, frontier .. 102, 215-16
Medical schools, early 482-85
Meeker, G. W. L. 225
Meine, Franklin J.
quoted 356
Mercer, Daniel 50
Meredith, David 28
Merryman, Glenn 76, 88
Methodist Episcopal Church .. 329, 331
Metropolis, Ill. 74, 75, 499
Mexican War 162, 163-65
Miamitown 29n., 45
Michillimackinac 22
Midwest News 503
Miller, Charles P. 219

Miller, J. C.....116, 368, 502
Miller, John E.....504
Miller, Samuel.....328, 331, 338
Miller Blacksmith Shop (New Salem).....228
Milligan, Josiah.....109, 110
Mills, Thornton A.....173
Milwaukee Sentinel.....441
Mississippi, Territory of.....499
Mississippi River
canal to Chicago River proposed.189
flood.....5, 75, 76
levee follows course of..... 13
mentioned.....101
Mississippi Valley Historical Association.....230
Missouri Republican
quoted.....351-53
Mitchell, Catharine A.....502
Mittatasse (Indian).....333, 335
Mobile, Ala.....103, 482
Modoc Indians.....417
Moffett, Hugh R.....235
Monaghan, James
article by.....411-23
mentioned.....509
Money-lending (Bond County)..156-58
Monk, ———.....202
Monmouth Review Atlas.....235
Monticello, Ill.....357
Monticello Bulletin.....499
Monticello College.....499
Monticello Seminary.....184, 499
Montreal, Canada.....103
Moody, Mehitable.....126
Moore, George R.....498
Moore, Mrs. Joshua.....185
Moore, Margaret King
article by.....166-87
mentioned.....237
Moore, William H.....455
Moran, ——— (judge).....443
Moravia.....381
Morgan, George.30n., 35n., 37n., 52n.
Morgan County, Ill.....136, 175
Morgan County Historical Society 116, 236, 371, 506
Morlacchi, Mlle.....414, 420
Mormons.....363, 507
Morris, Thomas.....338
Morrogh, ———.....202
Morse, Ebonezer.....200
Morse, Mrs. Ebonezer (Esther).....200
Moses, John
quoted.....97, 488-89
Mosser, Oliver D.....368
Mottier, C. H.....114
Mound City, Ill.....15, 75
Mounds, Ill..... 15
Mt. Carmel,Ill.....73, 74
Mt. Etna..... 6
Mt. Pulaski, Ill.....228
Mount Vernon Association, Ladies'.109
Mueller, Joseph M.....504
Mundhenke, Harry C.....226
Musil, F. L.....385, 402
"My Grandpa's Briches" (song)..320-22

Nance, James.....152
Narod.....383
National Council.....390, 395-96
National Council of Czech Countries
Chicago Czechs support.....409
founded.....396, 398
organizes armies.....403-404
seeks Czechoslovak independence 404-406
United States recognizes....407, 408
mentioned.....397n., 399
National Park Service.....229
National Socialist Party..... 80
National Youth Association.....237
Nauvoo, Ill.....229, 363
Navarre family..... 23
Neebe, Oscar.....426, 434, 438, 439
Nelson, Robert.....204
New Madrid, Mo.....13, 75
New Orleans, La.....103, 482
New Salem, Ill.....82, 364
New Salem State Park.86, 118, 228, 364
New York Tribune.....440

Newberry, Lane K.....507
Newsome, A. R.....495
Nez Perces.....362
Niagara..... 51
Nicholas, Robert Carter.....335
Nichols, Mrs. Jean O.....502
Nichols, Roy F.....276
Nicolay, John G.....296
Nielson, Helga.....232
Nigrin, Jaroslav V.....385, 388, 390
Nixon, William Penn.....428
Noble, Ill..... 88
Nomaque (Indian).....197
Nordgren, J. Vincent.....368
Norris City, Ill..... 18
North Chicago, Ill.....77, 78
North Platte, Neb.....422
Northwest Territory.....359, 503
 See also Old Northwest
Northwest Territory Celebration Commission (Ill.).....359
Norton, E. F.....369
Norton family.....108
Norwegian-American Historical Society.....360
Norwegians....245, 247, 248, 249, 360
Nosek Josef.....391
Nowlan John.....140

Oak Park Historical Society.....115, 234, 368, 506
Oak Park Public Library.....362
O'Brien, Tom.....219
Ochs, Robert D.
 article by.....449-81
 mentioned.....509
O'Connor, Daniel.....367
Ogee, Joseph.....196, 197, 324
Oglesby, Richard J.
 appoints Cook claim agent.....452
 approves Cook's bill.....472-73
 Cook reports to.....467
 defends Gary.....446
 efforts to aid Cook.463, 468, 476-77
 letters of Cook to.....460-61, 462, 465, 466, 471
 letters to Cook.....451, 464, 470
 letters to McCulloch.....474, 475
 liberals protest to.....426
 mentioned.....437, 469, 478
"Oh! Once I Saw a Blind Man" (song).....312-14
"Oh See That Watermelon Smiling on de Vine" (song).....299
Ohio..... 8
Ohio Historical Collections 363
Ohio River
 bridge at Cairo.....496
 floods.....5-21, 73, 74, 75, 76, 95
 mentioned.....101
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.....363
Ohio State Journal.....500
Oil wells
 in southern Illinois.....76, 77, 83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94
Old Northwest
 recreation in.....33-53
 settlements in.....22-23
 social groups in.....24-32
 See also Northwest Territory
Old Settlers' Association of Bond County.....140
Olds, Louisa Bryant.....107
Olive Swedish Male Chorus (Moline).....229
Olson, Julius.....251
Omohundro, "Texas Jack".....413, 416, 420
Ordinance of 1787.....359
Orion Times.....498
Orion Woman's Club.....498
Orleans, Duke of.....101
Osgood, James R.
 alterations in Lincoln biography.....272, 273, 283
 Black threatens to sue.....285
 contract with Lamon.....271, 284
 offers to sell plates of book.....276
 mentioned.....174, 282, 286, 287, 289, 291

Osgood, James R., & Company (Boston)
alterations in Lincoln biography 272-73, 283
contract with Lamon.....270-71
offer to sell plates of book..... 275, 276, 292, 293
publish periodicals.....289
mentioned.....265, 489
Other Bullards.....225
Otis, Mrs. William S.....507
Ottawa, Ill.....344, 346, 347, 348, 497
Ottawa Free Trader
quoted.....344-48
Ottawa Indians.....333, 336, 341, 343
Ouillmette, ———.....210
Ouilmette, Antoine.....201, 206, 333
Our American Music.....305
Outer Drive Bridge (Chicago)..... 92
Owen, Ernest W.....364

Paddock, S. A.....109
Paetow, Louis J.....252
Page, Joseph M..... 83
Pages from the Early History of the West and Northwest.....330
Palmer, John McAuley (governor)
Governor of Illinois..... 475, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481
mentioned.....282
Palmer, John McAuley (writer)
article edited by.....160-65
mentioned.....237
Panic of 1857..... 55
Panic of 1873.....424
Papers in Illinois History.....509
Parker, Frank..... 89
Parker, Margaret.....504
Parks, Nannie G.....115
Parks, Samuel C.....279, 281, 500
Parks, Samuel C., Jr.....500
Parks, Division of (Ill.).....229
Parsons, Albert.....426, 427
Patoka, Ill.....76, 88, 89
Patricia Barrett (steamer)..... 9
Patten, Mrs. Albert W.....225
Patterson, Robert.....161
Patterson, Robert W.....298
Patton, Francis L.....110
Payne, John Barton.....446
Pearson, John.....128
Pease, Aboin.....365
Pease, Theodore C.
article by.....245-61
mentioned.....372
Peattie, Donald Culross.....361
Peck, J. M.....340
Peffers, Fannie Hopkins.....369
Pekar, Josef.....399n.
People v. *Coughlin, The*.....430, 435
Peoria, Ill.....99, 100, 191, 506
Peoria County, Ill.
boundaries.....191, 193
Chicago in.....192
created.....207
elections in.....194, 195
Peoria Historical Society..... 115, 234, 371, 506, 507
Peoria Lake..... 99
Peoria Weekly Republican.....329
Pergler, Charles.....386, 402
Perkins, Howard C.....234
Perkins, Isaac.....205, 324, 325
Perrault, Jean Baptiste.....31n.
Perrin, J. Nick.....370, 371
Perrin, W. H.....296
Perry, Oliver Hazard.....505
Peterson, William J.....371
Peterstown, Ill.....349
Peyster, Arent Schuyler de.35, 42n., 50
Phelps, ———..... 64
Philip, King (Indian).....362
Phillips Academy..... 59
Philomathean Society (Illinois State University).....61, 62, 63, 64, 65
Physical, Economic, and Social Aspects of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River, State of Illinois.....113
Piankashaw Indians.....52n.
Piatt, Donn.....268
Piatt, Jim.....357
Pierce, Franklin.....59, 126

Pike County, Ill. 191
Pike County Ballads 489
Pillsbury, Ithamar 110
Pilot (schooner) 204
Pilsen Park (Chicago) 385, 388
Pinckneyville, Ill. 19
Pinet, Pierre François 101
Pioneers' Club (Chicago) 503
Pittman, Philip 26
Pittsburgh, Pa. 103
Pittsfield, Ill. 489
Plain, Frank G. 369
Pleasant Plains, Ill. 498
Plegge, E. W. 371
Pocahontas, Ill. 155
Point Sable, Jean Baptiste 189, 190
Pond, Mrs. Fern Nance 237, 371
Pontiac (Indian) 362
Pontiac, Ill. 233
Pope, ——— (captain) 475
Pope, Nathaniel 496
Potawatomi Indians
 chiefs 334, 345-46
 go to reservation 341, 343
 hunting grounds 344
 mission 331
 on Peoria Lake 329
 mentioned 333, 339
Potts, Stringer 149, 154
Prague, Czechoslovakia 384
Prairie du Pont 100
Prairie du Rocher 100
Prairie Grove, A 361
Pratt, Amanda 107
Pratt, Harry E. 365
Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana 227, 228
Presbyterian Church, First (Princeton) 107-110
Presbyterians, Old School 108
Presbytery, Rock River 108
Presbytery, Schuyler 108
Princeton, Ill.
 centennial 231
 courthouse 117
 first Presbyterian church 107-110
 historical museum 497
Proclamation of Emancipation 112
Prohibitionists 249
Psenka, Jaromir 385, 390, 391
Public Works and Buildings, Department of (Ill.) 118, 228
Pugh, Jonathan H. 327
Pulaski County, Ill. 14
Pure Oil Company 89
Purple, Norman H. 355
Putnam County, Ill. 191, 192

Quaife, Milo M. 230
Quakers 248
Qualey, Carlton C. 360
Quincy Historical Society 371, 507

Ragan, Allen E. 363
Ramsey, Grover C. 116, 503
Randall, A. W. 458
Randall, James G. 230, 366
Randall, Samuel J. 295
Rank, Emil T. 111
Rasles, Sébastien 101
Ravenswood, Ill. 234
Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association 234
Reasoner family 108
"Record of a Friendship—Letters from Lincoln to Henry E. Dummer" 125-37
Recreation (in Old Northwest) 33-53
Red Cross 9, 12, 15, 17, 19
Reed, Simon 337
Reed, W. B. 288
Reeder, Mrs. E. P. 372
Reid, Mrs. Burton M. 498
Reid, Drake Speed 498
Relief bill (Ill.) 87
Religion, old time 103-104, 220
Reminiscences of Uncle Joe Page 83
Republic Steel Corporation (South Chicago) 84, 85
Republican Party 249, 270, 286, 446, 447
Reynolds, John
 calls out militia 346
 candidate for governor 488-89
 quoted 103-104, 358

Reynolds, W. M.....67, 68, 69
Rich Land, Poor Land..... 20
Richardson, James.....421
Richland County, Ill..... 88
Richmond, Mabel E.....370
Rickert, Marguerite Lois
article by.....348-50
"Rip Van Winkle" (play).....417
River Forest Historical Society.....368
Riverside.....362
Riverside Historical Society.....
.....116, 362, 502
Robins, Martha.....362
Robinson, Alexander
buys Wallace goods.....206
half-breed chief.....
.....200, 339, 341, 342, 346
tavern license.....329
mentioned.....195, 345
Robinson, David.....107
Robinson, Philinda.....107
Robinson family.....108
Rocheblave, Philippe de Rastel,
Chevalier de..... 47
Rock Island.....487
Rock Island Arsenal.....508
Rock Island Historical Society.....371
Rock River..... 78
Rockford Morning Star.....225, 226
Roden, Carl.....363, 367, 495
Rogers, Alice.....350
Rogers, Emery Peter.....348, 349
Rogers, Maria.....350
Rogers, Mary.....350
Rogers, Robert.....37n.
Rogers, Will.....350
Rogers, William H.....350
Rogers homestead.....348-50
"Role of Chicago Czechs in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence, The".....381-410
Roosevelt, Franklin D.....9, 92
Roosevelt, Theodore.....441
Rose, Russell.....195
Rose, Will..... 93
Rosenwald, Julius..... 97
Rosiclare, Ill.....8, 75
Ross, Charles S.....91
Rouge, River.....33, 36
Rowland, Smith & Co.....219
Ruckle, Richard W.....222
Rudis-Jicinsky, ——— (doctor)....391
Rummler, Eugene A.....236, 507
Rush, G. Fred.....503
Rush Medical College.....483, 484
Russell, Charles E.....437n.
Russell, Dan D.....369
Russell, Nelson Vance
article by.....22-53
mentioned.....118, 366
Russell, Robert D.....135
Russia.....387, 397, 404
Rutledge, Ann..... 86
Rutledge, Ann (II)..... 96
Rutledge Tavern (New Salem State
Park)..... 86
Ryan, John H.....370
Ryce, Henry L.....435
Ryden, George H.....369
Ryder's *Almanac*.....106

Sabath, A. J.....400n.
Sac Indians.....346, 347
St. Clair County, Ill.....191
St. Clair County, Historical Association of.....371
St. Elizabeth's Hospital (Chicago). 93
St. Joseph's Island.....227
St. Louis, Mo.
entertains Illinois officials.....351
market.....142, 150, 155
medical schools in.....482, 483
St. Philippe..... 39
Sala, J.....385
Salem, Ill..... 80
Sales tax (Ill.).....77, 79, 82
Saline County, Ill.....16, 20
Saline River..... 16
Salisbury, DeGrass G.....108
Salmon family.....108
Salsbury, Nate.....421, 423
Saltiel marriage law (Ill.)..... 86

Salveson, Knud....248
Sam Gaty (ship)....364
Sanders, Mrs. W. D....185
Sangamo Journal
quoted....491-92
Sangamon County, Ill....176, 498
Sangamon River....228
Sanitary Bureau (Ill.)....450
Santa Anna, Antonio López de....165
Sarka-Hrbkova, ——— (professor)....400n.
Saucier, Fr....486
Saucier family.... 23
Sau-ga-nash (Indian)....340
Sawyer, John York....197
Scandinavian Augustana Synod.... 58
Scandinavian Lutheran Augustana Synod.... 69
Scarritt, Isaac....193, 329, 331
Scarritt, Ralph....368
Schaack, Michael J....436, 437
Scheiner, Josef....383
Schiefflin, Mrs. ———....30, 31n.
Schilling, George....427, 428, 431, 432, 445
Schmidt, Hubert
article by....138-59
mentioned....237
Schmidt, Mrs. H. P....506
Schwab, Michael....426, 427, 434, 438, 439
Scolvus, John....253
Scott, J. W.... 71
Scott, Stephen....206, 326
Scott, Walter Dill....504
Scott, Winfield....161, 277, 347, 488
"Scouts of the Prairie, The" (play)....411, 415, 418
Search, Anthony T....458
Searcy, Earl B....498
Sears, Roy A....371
Sedlak, Vincenc....385
See, ———.... 64
See, William
biographical sketch....331
ferry of....332
minister....193, 329, 330
mentioned....196
Seewer, Martha....116
Sejournée family....23n.
Seneca Indians....44n.
Serbia
aid for, sought....389, 390
Austria's action toward....384, 385, 386
Czechs sympathize with....387
Settlement of Illinois....221
Seward, William H....112, 495
Shabbona (Indian)
biographical sketch....344-48
Sharp, Cecil J....301, 316
Shawnee Indians....339
Shawneetown, Ill.
flood at....6, 7, 9, 19, 73, 74, 75
moving of....94-95
proposed state park....229
Shelbyville Democrat....117, 234
Shelbyville Historical Society....234
Sherman, Ill.... 91
Shields, James....160, 163, 216, 217
Shiloh, Battle of....350
Shinn, Arthur W....234
Shoemaker, William C....496
Simek, J....400n., 402
Simonson, Barton....436n.
Simpson L. J....307
Sinclair, Harold....361
Sioux Indians....347
Sisler family....108
Sitting Bull (Indian chief)....420
Slavs....387
Slovaks
and Bohemian National Alliance....400, 401, 406
effects of French Revolution in...381
memo to Wilson....402-403
nationalism of....381
Pilsen Park meeting in Chicago....385-87
social units in America....382-84
win freedom....408-409
See also Czechoslovakia

Smetanka, Jaroslav....402
Smith, Mrs. Brayton....185
Smith, David A....135
Smith, David W....48, 49
Smith, H. P. S....115
Smith, Horatio....195
Smith, Hyrum....363
Smith, J....129
Smith, Joseph....363
Smith, Robert M....504
Smith, Mrs. Robert M....504
Smith, Robert M., Jr....504
Smith, Mrs. Warren....502
Snite, Frederick B., Jr.... 86
Socialist Conference of the Second International....406
Socialists....429, 436n.
Society of American Archivists495, 496
Society for Preservation of Art and Architecture in Chicago.... ..363
Sokol....382n., 383, 385, 400n.
Some La Salle Journeys....360
Songs of the West....312
Sothern, E. A....417, 419
Sothern, E. H....417
South Chicago, Ill....84, 85, 87
South Shore Community Church Choir (Chicago)....502
South Shore Historical Society (Chicago)....367, 502
"Southern Illinois Folk Songs"..297-322
Southwest Company....202
Southwestern Indiana Civic Association....364
Spanish.... 35
Spencer, Oliver....47n.
Spies, August....425, 426, 427, 437n.
Spies v. *Illinois*....430
Spjutoy, Christian Larson....246
Springer, Francis....65, 66
Springfield, Ill.
anniversary of as state capital... 78
centennial celebration.... 92
described.... 97
first steamboat at....491-92
fruit market....150
highway to.... 91
Illinois State University in....54-71
Springfield Civic Garden Association....496
"Spunky Point" (Pittsfield, Ill.) 489, 490
Squint-eye (Indian)....341
"Stage Career of Buffalo Bill, The" 411-23
Stankova-Bujarkova, Mrs. ——..391
Star of the West (steamer)....277
Stark, —— (minister)....109
Stark County Historical Association 234, 372
Stateville penitentiary.... 81
Stearns, Raymond P....366
Steel strike....84, 85, 87
Stefanik, Milan....396
Steinmetz High School (Chicago)..503
Stelle, John.... 73
Stephenson, George M....226, 369
Stepina, Jaroslav F....391, 402
Sterling, James....31n., 36n.
Stevens, Frank E.
quoted....487-88
mentioned....344
Stevens Hotel (Chicago)....505
Stitely, Mrs. Nana....507
Stock raising (Bond County)....147-50
Stone, David....199
Stoops, R. O....506
Story, Joseph....126
Strawn, Mrs. Phoebe....185
Strevey, Tracy....365
Strikes
Caterpillar Tractor Company.... 81
coal miners....81, 83, 84
Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation....77, 78
general....424-25
railroad....424
Stateville prisoners.... 81
steel workers....84, 85, 87
taxi-drivers....79, 80
Strossman, Marion R....369
Stryker William....225

Stuart, John T.....54, 55, 56, 126, 127
Stuart, Robert.....199
Sturtevant, Julian.....169
Sturtevant, Mrs. Julian.....169
"Suckers" (nickname).....353-54
Suesserott, B. C..... 70
Summers, John.....334
Sumner, Charles..... 59
Sumner, Jessie..... 94
Superior Coal Company (Wilsonville)..... 83
Supreme Court (Ill.)
on anarchist case.....430, 435
on bank nights..... 82
Farthing chief justice of..... 85
on sales tax..... 77
on socialism.....426
Supreme Court (United States).426, 441
Sustek, Frantisek.....385
Svornost.....383, 391
Swedes.....229
Sweet, William Warren.....230
Swett, Leonard.....277, 281, 282, 361
Swift, Louis F..... 82
Swift Walker.....114

Taft, William Howard.....363
Talbott, H. C.....350
Tanner Home (Aurora).....369
Taxi-drivers' strike (Chicago)...79, 80
Taylor, Eugene.....363
Taylor, Florance Walton.....114
Taylor, J. I.....109
Tazewell County, Ill.....191, 205
TE Ranch.....422
Tear, Harry C.....365
Tecumseh (Indian).....339, 345
Teeter, Mrs. Hilda Caldwell.....340
Teillard, Dorothy Lamon.....295n.
"Ten Commandments" (song).....316
Territorial Papers of the United States..499
"Texas Jack" Omohundro.413, 416, 420
Thames, Battle of the.....339, 345
Theatre Comique (New York).....418
Thoman, Chauncey.....423
Thompson, Charles F..... 89
"Three Jovial Welshmen" (song)....313
Ticknor and Fields (Boston).....270
Tillson, Mrs. C.....173
Tillson, John.....169
Tillson, Mrs. John.....169
Tiptonville, Tenn..... 15
Todd, Isaac.....29n.
Todd, Mary.....495
Tonti, Henri de.....99, 188, 361
Topliff family.....108
Toucey, Isaac.....161
Trailor, Jesse.....497
Transylvania College.....485
Travis, Bunyan..... 83
"Trials of a Ghost-Writer of Lincoln Biography".....262-96
Tripp, A. J.....117
Trottier, François.....23, 31, 356
Trumbull, Lyman.....282, 428, 432
Tuley, Murray F.....428
Turner, Frederick Jackson.250, 500, 501
Turner, J. B.....173
Tvrzicky, John.....389n.
Tvrzicky, Josef
biographical sketch.....389
Czech leader....385, 388, 390, 397n.
quoted.....404
secretary Bohemian National Alliance.....401n.
"Twelve Apostles, The" (song).....
.....300, 314-16

Ullin, Ill..... 15
Unemployment insurance (Ill.)..... 86
Union Electric Company (St. Louis) 118
United States
bounty laws.....452, 459
coast guard..... 9
Supreme Court.....426, 441
view toward Czechs.....408
war with England.....344-45
in World War.....400, 407
United States Daughters of 1812...497
Unonius, Gustaf.....226
Utilior Society (Illinois State University).....60, 61, 69

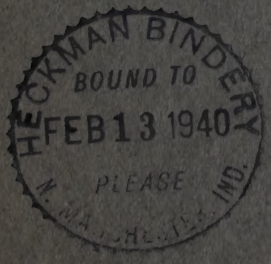
Vail, William Penn.....225
Vandalia, Ill.....73, 501
Vandalia Leader.....501
Van Den Berg, H.....87
Vanek, Vaclav.....391
VanMeter, LaRue.....116
Van Ness, Phebe.....135
Van Orin, Ill.....92
Van Orin Cemetery.....497
Vansickle, Martin.....202
Van Zandt, Nicholas Biddle.....221
Veleminsky, Karel.....383
Vera Cruz, Siege of.....161, 164
Vermilion Clay.....114
Vermit, ———.....327
Vienna, Ill.....18
Vincennes.....23
Vinklarek, Karel.....385, 391
Viviat family.....23
Vojan, Jaroslav E. S....382n., 394, 402
Volney, C. F.....25
Vose, Josiah H.....487
Voska, Emanuel.....396
Votata, J. V.....391
Votava, ———.....385
Voyageurs.....24, 40
Vraz, Stanislav.....390

Wabash River.....73, 74
Waddell, Reed.....217, 218, 219
Wadsworth, Mrs. Delia.....185
Wales, Prince of.....422
Walker, George E.....346, 347, 348
Walker, H. W.....372
Walker, James.....465
Walker, Jesse.....195, 329, 330, 331
Walker, Nellie.....364
Wallace, Hugh McAdam.....202, 207
Wallace, John Kennedy.....202, 207
Wallace, Mary Hamilton.....201
Wallace, Sarah Kennedy..201, 202, 207
Wallace, William.....201, 202
Wallace, Mrs. William
See Wallace, Sarah Kennedy
Wallace, William Henry
death.....205, 208
engages interpreters.....202, 203
estate of.....206-207, 341, 342
trader.....201, 204
Walley, William H. ("Captain Jack").....418, 420
"Walter Jumped a Fox" (song)...310-12
Walters, W. L.....115
Wampanoag Indians.....362
Wannamaker, J. S.....225
Wannamaker, Salley, Mackay, and Bellinger Families, The.....225
War of 1812.....344-45
Ward, William.....425
Warren County Historical Society..
.....235, 236, 372
Washington Evening Star.....441
Waterloo, Ill.....348
Waterloo Cemetery (Waterloo)....350
Waters, W. L.....370
Watkins, Deborah.....327
Watkins, Morrison.....327
Wau-Bun.....190, 194, 323, 334
Wauponsa (Indian).....346
Waverly Cemetery (Morgan County).....365
WEBQ.....16
Weeks, Cole.....339
Weik, Jesse.....265, 295
Weiler, Gene.....78
Welby, Adlard.....221
Weld, Isaac.....37n.
Weldon, Lawrence.....279, 281
Wentworth, John.....340
Wesseulius, Walter.....19
West Frankfort, Ill.....19
West Side Historical Society (Chicago).....116, 235, 367, 502, 503
Westerlund, J. E.....229
Western Journal of Medicine.....482
Western Township (Henry County).498
Wharton, Samuel.....35n.
White, Mrs. Florence Scott.....225
White, Horace.....265, 277, 280
Whitlock, Brand.....439, 444n., 447
"Wicked Polly" (song).....317
"Wild Bill" (James Butler Hickok) .420

Wild West shows.....411, 412, 421, 422, 423
Wilhelm, Crown Prince.....422
Willard, Samuel
quoted.....213-14
Williams, E. G. C.
article by.....482-85
Williams, Louis O.....80
Williams, Mead C.....110
Williamson County, Ill.....115
Williamson County Historical Society.....115
Willing, Mrs. Blanche.....368
Wilmore, Mrs. ———.....305, 307
Wilson, John.....470, 471, 474
Wilson, William
biographical sketch.....221-24
Wilson, Woodrow
Allies' note to.....405
and Allies' war aims.....407
and Bohemian National Alliance 402
and Czechoslovakia.....384
reply to Austria-Hungary.....408
Wilsonville, Ill.....83, 84
Windbreak, The.....500
Windes, Frank A.....507
Winnebago Indians.....346
Winnetka Historical Society...236, 507
Winston, Frederick S.....438
Wisconsin, University of.....501
Wise, Henry.....61
Wise, Winifred E.....114
Wish, Harvey
article by.....424-48
mentioned.....230, 509
Wittenberg College.....71
WJBL.....237
Wolcott, Alexander
administers estate.....199, 208
death.....210
Indian agent.....194
mentioned.....200, 205, 206, 341
Wolcott, Mrs. Alexander.....211, 212
Wolf Lake, Ill.....19
Women's Clubs, General Feedration of.....166
Women's eight-hour law (Ill.).....86
Wood, Eli.....107
Wood, Elisha.....107
Wood, Frank L.....116
Wood, John.....471
Wood, John R.....457
Wood, Mrs. Judith Smith.....504
Wood, Mary.....107
Woodbridge Papers, William.....336
Woodford County, Ill.....191, 450
Woodford County Historical Society.....507
Woodlawn Historical Society.....236, 368, 502
Works Progress Administration
flood relief work....8, 9, 11, 14, 19
historical survey of Oak Park...362
inventory of county archives....115-16, 226, 233, 363
newspaper projects....370, 507, 509
prepares *Illinois Guide*.....112
traveling museum.....508
work on Cahokia history.....504
World War.....383, 400
Wright, W. W.....234
Wynne, John.....31n.

Yankees.....213
Yates, John.....225
Yates, Richard..162, 183, 469, 476, 477
Yellow Hand (Indian).....420, 421
Yellowstone Park.....422
Young, Richard M...197, 333, 337, 355
"Young People Who Delight in Sin" (song).....316-18
Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company (South Chicago).....84, 87
Yund, Earl.....501

Zeller, George A.....507
Zeman, J.....391
Zimmerman, Mrs. Jacob F.....497
Zlamal, Oldrich.....400n.
Zmrhal, Jaroslav J.....391, 400n., 402
Zuppke, Robert C.....92


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